

THE ANDREAS SALOS APOCALYPSE
GREEK TEXT, TRANSLATION,
AND COMMENTARY

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ONE of the most intriguing parts of the Life of Andreas Salos, written by a certain Nicephorus in Constantinople in the tenth century it seems, is the section in which Andreas answers his friend Epiphanius' question, when and how this world will come to an end. In a previous article¹ I have tried to identify the models of the eschatological rulers described by Andreas Salos in this section. The purpose of the present paper is to continue the analysis of the Andreas Salos apocalypse on the basis of a critical edition of the Greek text.

The number of MSS containing the Life of Andreas Salos,² or parts thereof, totals about ninety. Most of these MSS are late and of little value for the establishment of a critical edition. For the purpose of the edition of the entire *Vita*, I have concentrated on the MSS dating from the fourteenth century and earlier. The text published here is based on the collation of, in the first place, the following four MSS:

- B = Vindobonensis hist. gr. 123, s. XIV, fols. 84–90
- D = Vaticanus gr. 1574, s. XI–XII, fols. 147^v–59
- E = Monacensis gr. 552, s. XIV, fols. 152^v–67^v
- P = Atheniensis 1014, a. 1071, fols. 93^v–104

The latest of these MSS, B, is closely related to the oldest known witness of the *Vita*, an uncial fragment contained in Monacensis gr. 443 and probably dating from the second half of the tenth century. The part covered by this fragment, called A, has been published by S. Murray.³ An analysis of this part seems to show that the text of AB on the average is more reliable than that of the other MSS. Thus, there is reason to believe with Murray that B, in spite of its date, offers throughout a more genuine text than the other MSS. As a matter of fact, B would appear to have more authority than the other MSS even if there were no uncial fragment to support it. However, this does not mean that the text of B should be accepted without any further examination. In order to check B, I have collated it with three related MSS, namely,

- O = Oxon. Holkhamicus gr. 26, s. XIV–XV, fols. 85–91
- M = Mytilenensis gymn. 37, s. XV, fols. 127^v–37^v
- Y = Oxon. coll. Lincolniensis gr. 21, s. XVI, fols. 149^v–53^v.

It appears from the collation that within this group of four MSS there are two branches, consisting of BO and MY respectively, and that B alone and B and O together contain errors which have to be eliminated with the help of the other MSS. The source from which all four derive I call β. Judging

¹ "Zum Aufbau der Andreas Salos-Apokalypse," *Eranos*, 66 (1968), 101–17. Hereafter referred to as in *Eranos*.

² Hereafter called AS.

³ *A Study of the Life of Andreas, The Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig, 1910).

from the consensus between A and the other MSS, β also now and then differs from what must be considered authentic. On the other hand, A sometimes has to be corrected with the help of β and the other MSS. Moreover, agreement between A and β is not always a guarantee that they reflect the original. Thus, the text of β must be submitted to continuous scrutiny, especially when A is not available, as in the section dealt with here. But, when I see no means for judging between the different variant readings of the MSS, I follow β . Its variant readings are always noted in the apparatus criticus, though obvious errors in B, O, M, and Y respectively are not.

P is interesting as being the oldest dated MS in this tradition, but it is of very uneven quality and must therefore be used with care. D's text is more stable, but, especially at the beginning of the *Vita*, it shows signs of a development toward a freer and wordier version which becomes evident in E. This MS is not only longer than the MSS just mentioned, but is also full of obvious errors. It is a very unreliable source but, as it, too, contains, besides much nonsense, readings which deserve serious attention, it cannot be neglected. Most variant readings of DEP are recorded in the apparatus criticus, but I have not found it necessary to give a complete account of them.

As the witness of a changing and growing text, E may be said to represent an intermediate stage between D and two other MSS, namely,

C = Vaticanus gr. 2010, s. XII, fols. 107–16^v

K = Atheniensis 2419, a. 1296, fols. 124–38.

In these MSS additions and deliberate changes are legion. They also bear clear evidence of contamination. Characteristic additions found in CK may be seen in the apparatus criticus, but other variant readings of CK have usually not been recorded.

D is the main source of the *editio princeps* of the *Vita* in *Acta Sanctorum*, reprinted by Migne, PG, 111, cols. 628–888. As an additional source the editor, Conrad Janning, used

F = Parisinus gr. 1547, a. 1286, fols. 158–247^v,

which, though containing an abridged version, is sometimes helpful. It is quoted here occasionally.

In principle the apparatus criticus is negative. When nothing else is said, it takes into account β (BOMY)DEP, so that, for instance, it may be inferred from the entry τοῦ *om.* DE that τοῦ is the reading of β P, and from the entry συντελείας: τῆς συντελείας MDEP that συντελείας is the reading of BOY. In such cases, nothing can be concluded as to the readings of CKF. They may agree with the text chosen or with the variants, but they may also have a lacuna or offer highly individual variants.

A more detailed presentation and discussion of the manuscript tradition will be found in the complete edition of the *Vita* which I am preparing.

TEXT

PG 111,

col. 852 C

853 A

Ποτὲ δὲ εὐκαιρήσαντος Ἐπιφανίου καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἐπιφάνιος εἰς τὸν | οἶκον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐν ἀνέσει κἀν τὴν μίαν ταύτην ἑβδομάδα. Καὶ δὴ καθεζομένων αὐτῶν καταμόνας ἤρξατο ἑρωτᾶν ὁ Ἐπιφάνιος τὸν μακάριον λέγων· “Εἰπέ μοι, παρακαλῶ
 5 σε, πῶς τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου τούτου καὶ πότε καὶ τί ἔστιν ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων καὶ πῶς γινώσκονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐγγὺς εἶναι ἐπὶ θύραις; Ἀπὸ ποίων δὲ σημείων ἢ ἀποδείξεις ἔσται τῆς συντελείας, καὶ ποῦ παρελεύσεται ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν αὕτη ἢ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ οἱ ἐνθάδε ὄντες ναοὶ ἅγιοι τί γενήσονται καὶ οἱ σταυροὶ καὶ αἱ τίμια εἰκόνες καὶ αἱ βίβλοι καὶ τὰ
 10 τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα; Ἀναγγεῖλόν μοι παρακαλῶ· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων σου εἶπεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· “Υμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν” πόσω δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ τοῦ κόσμου;”

853 B

15 Ὁ δὲ μακάριος εἶπεν· “Περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν γίνωσκε· μέχρι συντελείας τὸ οἶνον οὖν ἔθνος οὐδαμῶς φοβηθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ μὴ παγιδεύσει αὐτὴν τις ἢ παραλήψεται, μὴ γένοιτο· κεχάρισται γὰρ αὕτη

1 Tit. περὶ τῆς πόλεως πρόγνωσης E περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῆς πόλεως P ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως K titulo carent βDC ἄρχεται τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου scholium in marg. O || 2 τοῦ om. DE || 3 τὴν μίαν ταύτην: τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην Y μίαν P || 4–5 ἑρωτᾶν ... τέλος: αὐτὸν ἑρωτᾶν περὶ τῶν τ (finis lineae) νῶν καὶ περὶ θέσεως στοιχείων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν κρειττόνων μεταβολῶν καὶ περὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων· πῶς (?) τάξις τὴν τάξιν ὑπερέξεχει, καὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ὅτι πῦρ αἰσθητὸν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ποῖαν φύσιν ἔχουσιν αἱ νεφέλαι καὶ ὁ ἀήρ, καὶ ἀπλῶς οὐ δύνασαι πάντα λέγειν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ λόγου· πλήν τὰ πολλὰ παριδὼν ὀλίγα τινα μεταξὺ αὐτῶν εἰρημένα ἀπαγορεύσας διεξέλθω. καὶ φησὶν Ἐπιφάνιος τῷ μακαρίῳ· παρακαλῶ σε, φησὶν, εἰπέ μοι, πῶς τὸ τέλος E αὐτὸν ἑρωτᾶν περὶ ὑποθέσεων τινῶν, λέγω δὴ στοιχείων καὶ μεταβολῶν ἀέρων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀπορρήτων. τέλος παρεκάλει αὐτόν· πῶς ἔσται τὸ τέλος C ἑρωτᾶν αὐτὸν περὶ ὑποθέσεων τινῶν περὶ τε δυστυχίας (sic) καὶ μεταβολῶν ἀέρων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀπορρήτων, μετ’ αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους K || 7 ποῦ: πῶς E || 8 Ἱερουσαλήμ: Ῥώμη K || 10 post λείψανα add. ποῦ χωρήσουσι (-ωσιν C) καὶ ποῦ (ποῦ: ἐν τίνι C) τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν μετοικισθήσονται CK || 11 σου: σοι BY υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ: θεός D || 14–20 περὶ ... κομιζόμενα: ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἢ ἐπάνω πολλῶν ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων προκαθεζομένη μέχρι τῆς συντελείας ἀνάλωτος ἔθνεσι γενήσεται καὶ ἀχείρωτος· ἡ γὰρ θεοτόκος ἐν σκέπη τῶν ἰδίων πτερυγῶν ταύτην φυλάττει (αὕτην ἐφύλαξεν C) καὶ ταῖς πρεσβείαις αὐτῆς ἄτρωτος διαφυλαχθήσεται. πλήν ἔθνη τινὰ δώσουσι τὰ τεῖχη αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν συντρίψαντες ἐν αἰσχύνη (μετ’ αἰσχύνης K) ἀναχωρήσουσι (-ωσιν C). ἀπ’ αὐτῆς δὲ πλουτήσουσι (-ωσιν C) ἔθνη καὶ τῶν ἡδέων αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσουσι (-ωσιν C). λόγος δὲ (τις add. K) φέρεται εἰσιέναι τὸ ἔθνος τῶν ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ ἱκανὰ πλήθη τῇ μαχαίρᾳ αὐτῶν κατασφάξουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ φημι ὅτι καὶ τὸ ξανθὸν γένος εἰσελεύσεται, οὐτινος ἢ προσηγορία πρόκειται (πρόσκειται K) ἐν ἐπτακαίδεκάτῳ στοιχείῳ τῶν εἰκοσι τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀνακεφαλαιουμένων (-ούμενον codd.). ἀλλ’ εἰσελεύσονται μὲν καὶ τὰ κῶλα τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐπὶ ἐδάφους καταστρώσουσιν, οὐαὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ὀρπηκῶν (ὀρπίκων C ὀρπίγγων K), ὧν αἱ ῥομφαῖαι αὔρα (?) καὶ ὡς ὀξεῖα δρεπάνη πυρὸν ἐν θέρει συντέμνουσα (συγκόπτουσα K). οὐ γὰρ (γὰρ om. K) μὴ εἰς τὰ (εἰς τὰ: εἶπω K) ὁπίσω ἀνθυποστρέψουσιν οὐκέτι οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ ἐνταῦθα καταλειφθήσονται CK τὸ παρὸν δέκατον ἑβδομον στοιχείον ὅπερ λέγεται ἐνταῦθα ἔστι τὸ ρ, καὶ δηλοῖ τοὺς ῥῶς, ἡγουν τοὺς ῥούσους, ὃ καὶ ξανθὸν γένος κέκληται, οἵτινες εἰσελεύσονται καὶ πατάξουσιν τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἁγῶν ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρης in marg. add. sec. m. in K || 15 συντελείας: τῆς συντελείας MDEP || 15–16 οὐδαμῶς (οὐδαμοῦ P) φοβηθήσεται (φοβηθησόμεθα E) οὐ γὰρ μὴ (μὴ om. P) ... τις: οὐ μὴ αὐτὴν παγιδεύσει β || 16 αὕτη: αὐτὴν DE

τῇ Θεοτόκῳ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀρπάσει αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῆς. Ἔθνη γὰρ
πολλὰ δώσουσι τὰ τεῖχη αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ κέρατα αὐτῶν συντρίψουσιν,
ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ἀναχωροῦντα, δόματα δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν παρ' αὐτῆς
20 κομιζόμενα.

Ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ περὶ ἀρχῆς ὠδίνων καὶ περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ
κόσμου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἀναστήσει κύριος
ὁ θεὸς βασιλέα ἀπὸ πενίας καὶ πορεύσεται ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ πολλῇ καὶ
πάντα πόλεμον παύσει καὶ τοὺς πένητας πλουτίσει καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἐπὶ
853 C 25 τοῦ Νῶε τὰ ἔτη. Οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνων | πονηρίας ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς
ἀνέσεως οὕτως παρείκασται· ἔσονται γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας
αὐτοῦ πλούσιοι σφόδρα καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπείρῳ ἄτρογοντες καὶ πίνοντες,
γαμοῦντες καὶ ἐγαμίζοντες· καὶ ἐν ἀφοβίᾳ πολέμου καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ τοῖς
γηϊνοῖς ἐπανακείμενοι. Καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι πόλεμον συγκόψουσι τὰς
30 σπάθας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα καὶ τοὺς κοντοὺς καὶ λιβύνας εἰς ἐργαλεῖα
856 A γηπονικά, δι' ὧν τὴν γῆν ἐργάζονται. | Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δώσει τὸ
πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ταπεινώσει τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἄγαρ·
ὀργισθήσεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς κύριος διὰ τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ
εἶναι τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν χολῆς Σοδόμων καὶ πικρίας Γομόρρας, καὶ διὰ
35 τοῦτο νύξας ἐγείρει τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσει
αὐτούς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν πυρὶ ἀναλώσει, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ παραδε-
δομένοι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρισμῶ βιαιοτάτῳ παραδοθήσονται. Καὶ
ἀποκατασταθήσεται ἅπαν τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων. Κομίσει
δὲ καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος τὰ πάκτα αὐτῆς. Καὶ θήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν
40 δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἡμερώσει τὰ ξανθὰ γένη καὶ ταπεινώσει
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ κρατήσει

17 ἐκ: ἀπὸ DE || 18 δώσουσι: δυνήσουσι BO || 19 ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ἀναχωροῦντα: καὶ
ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ἀναχωρήσουσιν P 14 παρ' αὐτῆς: ἐξ αὐτῶν M om. BO || 20 κομιζόμενα:
κοιμίζόμενοι Y κοιμίζόμενα τὰ ἔθνη ὑποταγήσονται P κοιμίζόμεθα D ἡ πόλις ἐπικερ-
δήσει M om. BO || 21–22 ἄκουσον ... λοιπῶν: περὶ δὲ ὠδίνων ἀρχῆς καὶ περὶ
συντελείας πῶς σοι ἀδακρυτὶ διεξέλθοιμι (δι- om. C) τέκνον CK || 21 καὶ¹ om. DEP
καὶ²: ἐν πρώτοις καὶ τὸ τηνικαῦτα E τῆς om. DEP || 22 post λοιπῶν add.
διεξέλωμεν (cf. CK) et tit. περὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ τέλους E || 22–23 ἀναστήσει κύριος
ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις in v. β || 23 βασιλέα: βασιλέαν E βασιλείαν
β πορεύσονται BO post δικαιοσύνῃ (πολλῇ om. CK) add. καὶ γενήσεται
δι' ἐλεημοσύνης (ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἐλεημοσύνῃ K) τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐάρεστος CK ||
24–26 ὡς ἐπὶ ... παρείκασται: εἰρήνῃ δὴν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ Νῶε διὰ τὸ
μὴ πνεῖν πόλεμον πῶποτε CK || 25 περὶ: κατὰ DEP || 25–26 τῆς ἀνέσεως: τὴν
τῆς ἀνέσεως γνῶσιν E τῆς ἀναστάσεως BO || 26 οὕτως: ταῦτα β παρείκασται:
παρεικᾶσαι (sic) DE παρείκασον β || 26–27 κατὰ ... αὐτοῦ: ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
αὐτοῦ DE ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις P || 28 ἐγαμίζοντες: ἐγγαμίζοντες DE καὶ
ἀμεριμνία: πορευόμενοι καὶ ἀμεριμνῶς DEP || 30 εἰς ... εἰς: εἰς δρέπανα καὶ τὰς
λιβύνας εἰς ἄροτρα καὶ P εἰς δρέπανα καὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τοὺς κόντους (sic) εἰς λιβύνας
καὶ εἰς D καὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τοὺς κόντους (sic) εἰς λιβύνας καὶ δρέπανα καὶ E || 31 γεηπο-
νικά DEP || 33–37 διὰ τὴν βλασφημίαν ... παραδοθήσονται: δι' ὧν ἐβλασφήμησαν
εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ δι' ὧν (δι' ὧν om. K) τὴν τῶν Σοδόμων
ἀσθένειαν κατεργάζονται. πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ (τὸ om. K) ἄγιον βάπτισμα
κομισάμενοι (κοιμίζόμενοι K) εὐάρεστοι γενήσονται καὶ τιμηθήσονται παρὰ τοῦ
εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως ἐκείνου. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς (ὑπολοίπους K) ὀλέσει καὶ ἐμπυρίσει (καὶ
ἐμπυρίσει om. C) καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσει καὶ βιαίῳ θανάτῳ παραδώσει CK || 33–34 καὶ
διὰ τὸ ... Γομόρρας om. β propter homoeoteleuton || 34 χολὴν D Γομόρ-
ρων D || 35 νύξας ἐγείρει: ἤξας ἐπεγείρει β ἀνοίξει καὶ ἐπεγείρει P || 36 οἱ om. P ||
37 πρησμῶ DP ἐμπρισμῶ β || 38 ἀποσταθήσεται DE ἅπαν: πάλιν D πᾶσα ἡ ὑφή-
λιος καὶ CK || 40 ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν: εἰς τὰ κύκλω ἔθνη CK || 41 κρατήσει om. DEP

- 856 B ἔτη τριάκοντα δύο. Τῷ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ | ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κῆνσον
καὶ δόματα οὐ λήψεται, ἀλλ' ἀναστήσει ναοὺς ἁγίους καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσει
συντετριμμένα θυσιαστήρια. Καὶ δίκη οὐκέτι ἔσται, οὔτε ὁ ἀδικῶν οὔτε
45 ὁ ἀδικούμενος· φόβῳ γὰρ ποιήσει τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωφρονεῖν
καὶ τοὺς παρανομοῦντας τῶν μεγιστάνων ταπεινώσει καὶ θανάτῳ
παραδώσει. Ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς γὰρ ἐκείνοις πᾶς χρυσὸς ὅς ἐστιν ἐν
οἰωδήποτε τόπῳ κρυπτόμενος νεύσει θεοῦ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται τῇ βασι-
λείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πτύῳ αὐτὸν σκορπίσει τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλουτή-
50 σουσιν οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσονται ὡς βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ πένητες
ἔσονται ὡς ἄρχοντες. Καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ ζῆλος μέγας, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους
καταδιώξει, καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ Ἰσραηλῆτης οὐχ | εὐρεθήσεται.
Καὶ αὐτὸς δῆσει μέγας τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λυρίζων ἢ ὁ
κιθαρίζων ἢ ὁ τραγωδῶν ἢ τι αἰσχρὸν πρᾶγμα ἐργαζόμενος· πάντας
55 γὰρ τοὺς τοιοῦτους μισήσει καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσει ἐκ πόλεως κυρίου. Καὶ
ἔσται πολλὴ χαρὰ τότε καὶ ἀγαλλίασις, καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ
ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνατελεῖ πλούσια. Καὶ ἔσται ὃν τρόπον ἦσαν ἐπὶ
τοῦ Νῶε ἐν ἡμερίᾳ εὐφραινόμενοι μέχρις οὗ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός.
Παρελθόντος δὲ τούτου τοῦ σκήπτρου ἀναστήσεται ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων.
60 Τότε ἐγερθήσεται † ἀραήγλιχός † τις υἱὸς τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ βασιλεύσει
ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἔτη τρία | ἡμισυ καὶ ποιήσει ἀνομίαν γενέσθαι οἷα
οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γενήσεται. Καθεσθεις γὰρ
δογματίσει τοιαῦτα ὅπως μίγνυται πατὴρ θυγατρὶ καὶ υἱὸς μητρὶ καὶ
ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῇ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὁ ἀνταίρων θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖται, καὶ ὁ
856 D 65 τοιοῦτος σὺν τῷ Προδρόμῳ Ἰωάννῃ καταταγήσεται ἐν τῇ | ἡμέρᾳ τῆς
κρίσεως. Τότε λεύξει μοναχοῖς τὰς μοναστρίας καὶ ἱερεῦσι ὁμοίως καὶ
γενήσεται ἡ ἀνομία τῆς μίξεως χείρων φόνου, καὶ αὐτὸς πορνεύσει
μητέρα καὶ θυγατέρα, καὶ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ διὰ τὴν κατάρατον ἀκολασίαν
λύσιν λαβόντες οἱ μωροὶ ἀσώτως ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφαῖς ἐπιχρεμε-

42 ἔτη ... δύο: τριάκοντα δύο ἔτη D τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ (sic) E βασιλείας
αὐτοῦ inv. DE || 43 ἁγίων CK || 44 οὔτε: οὐδὲ D || 45 τοῖς υἱοῖς D ||
49 πτύῳ ... πολιτείᾳ αὐτοῦ: αὐτὸς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ σκορπίσει τοῖς χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν
CK αὐτὸν scripsi, ut in PG: αὐτὸς β αὐτῷ (sic) DEP τῇ πολιτείᾳ: πάση
τῇ πολιτείᾳ DE τῇ πόλει P || 51 ἄρχοντες: οἱ ἄρχοντες DEP || 53 δῆσει (? φοβήσεται
F) ... πόλιν: μέγας κατορθώματα ποιήσεται CK || 54 ἢ ὁ τραγωδῶν om. β τι:
τις DP || 55-56 καὶ ἔσται: πάντας τοὺς πράττοντας (ἐργαζομένους CK) τὴν ἀνομίαν.
ἔσται οὖν ECK, fortasse recte || 58 ἡμερίᾳ: ἐρημίᾳ BOMP εὐημερίᾳ Y ἀμεριμνίᾳ D
γαλήνῃ καὶ εἰρήνῃ CK post κατακλυσμός add. καὶ ἦρεν ἅπαντας PCK
(Matt. 24:39) || 59 tit. ἐνταῦθα ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων D περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀσεβοῦς
βασιλεύειν ἐνταῦθα E τοῦ σκήπτρου τούτου E τοῦ σκήπτρου τούτου P
τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐκείνου D ἀναστήσεται ἀρχή: ἀναστήσονται ἀρχαὶ D || 60 ἐγερθή-
σεται: ἀναστήσεται βD ἀραήγλιχός τις MYP: ἀραήγλιχός τις BO ἀναήγλιχός
τις E om. DFCK υἱός: ὁ υἱὸς DFCK || 62 οὐδ' οὐ μὴ: οὐδὲ μὴ MYD οὐδὲ P
οὔτε E || 64 post ἀδελφῇ (-ῇν EP) add. ἐκόντες καὶ (μὴ add. E) ἄκοντες ECK ἀν-
ταίρων: ἀντιλέγων P ἀνταίρων ἢ ἀντιλέγων CK ἀποθανεῖται: ἀποθανεῖτω D
τελευτήσεται P τελευτάτω CK || 65 καταταγήσεται: καταλεγθήσεται P || 66 λεύξει:
σμίξει P κελεύσει λυχνῆσθαι CK μοναχοῖς τὰς μοναστρίας: μοναχοῖς ταῖς
μοναστρέαις D μοναχοῖς μοναζούσαις P μοναχοῦς ταῖς μοναστρίαις EK μοναχοῦς
ταῖς μοναζούσαις C ἱερεῖσι scripsi: ἱερεῖς βEP τοὺς ἱερεῖς CK ἱερὸς (sic) D ||
67 γενήσεται ... φόνου: πληθυνθήσονται αἱ παράνομοι μίξεις ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν
CK χείρων: καὶ χείρων P φόνου: φόνου πολλοῦ E || 68 θυγατέρα: θυγατέρα
καὶ ὁμαίμονας κόρας EC || 69 μωροὶ: μωροὶ καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι CK ταῖς ... ἀδελφαῖς:
τοῖς ... ἀδελφοῖς β

- 70 τίσουσιν. Καὶ ἀναβήσεται ἡ σαπρία καὶ ὁ βρώμος ὡς βδέλυγμα ἐνώπιον
κυρίου, καὶ πικρῶς ὀργισθήσεται κύριος ὁ θεὸς καὶ θυμῷ μεγάλῳ
ἐπιβλέψει ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐντελεῖται τῇ βροντῇ αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν
καὶ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς, καὶ ἄρξονται ἀκρατῶς φρίκη πολλὴ καταφέρεσθαι
857 B ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πολλοὶ πόλεις πυρίκαυστοι γενήσονται, καὶ οἱ
75 ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τοῦ πατάγου τῶν φοβερῶν ἐκείνων βροντῶν θροῖσμι
μεγάλῳ παραλυθήσονται καὶ κακῶς ἀποθανοῦνται καὶ πολλοὶ ἀστρα-
πόκαυστοι γενήσονται. Οὐαὶ δὲ τότε τῇ γῇ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπειλῆς τοῦ
παντοκράτορος καὶ τῆς ἀπείρου ὀργῆς τε καὶ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡδη
ἐπερχομένου εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. Παταχθήσεται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ
80 σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ βληθήσεται. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἐκείνων μακάριοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἢ ἐν Ῥίζῃ ἢ ἐν Ἀρμενοπέτρῃ
ἢ ἐν Στροβίλῳ ἢ ἐν Καρνούπολει· ἐν ταύταις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ
τόποις ἀναπαύσονται. Τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντα πόλεμοι καὶ ταραχαί, καὶ
θόρυβος πολὺς γενήσεται κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι Ῥωμῶντες ἀκούει
85 πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.
857 C Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγερθήσεται βασιλεία ἑτέρα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην,
καὶ αὐτὸς βλοσυρὸς † ὄνος † καὶ ἔξαρνος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀναγνώσας
τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γραφὰς μετατραπήσεται εἰς Ἑλληνισμόν καὶ ποιήσει
πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀπὸ τὸν Σατανᾶν ὁ διάβολος. Μετὰ γὰρ
90 ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τοῦ κρατῆσαι αὐτὸν ναοὺς πυρिकाύστους ποιήσει καὶ
τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν φούρκαν ὀνομάσει καὶ ποιήσει τὸ

70–71 ἡ σαπρία ... κυρίου: ἡ σαπρία τῆς τεάφης ὡς ἐβεδελυγμένοι (sic) E ἡ
δυσωδία τῆς αἰμομιξίας δυσωδέστερον βδελύγματος τεάφης ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ C ἡ
δυσωδία τῆς αἰμομιξίας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ K || 74–75 οἱ ἄνθρωποι: ἄνθρωποι DE ||
75 τοῦ πατάγου: τῶν πατάγων β || 75–77 θροῖσμι ... γενήσονται: ἀποψυγή-
σονται K om. C || 75–76 θροῖσμι ... παραλυθήσονται: φόβῳ ... παραδοθήσονται
P θροηθήσονται F || 76 ἀποθανοῦνται: ἀποθάνωσι DE ἀποθανοῦσι P || 77 τότε
om. β γῆ: γῆ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ CK || 78 τε καί: καὶ τοῦ β τε καὶ τοῦ E αὐτοῦ
om. P || 79 ante παταχθήσεται add. γενήσεται γὰρ λιμὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὥστε τελευτᾶν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (ὀξέως add. K) ἀπὸ τῆς πείνης πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἔκκαεῖν (= ἱκανοῦς
εἶναι?) θάπτεσθαι αὐτοὺς (πρὸς ... θάπτεσθαι om. K). μετὰ (δὲ add. K) ταῦτα
γενήσεται σεισμὸς μέγας ὥστε συμπεσεῖν ἅπαν οἰκοδόμημα καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐργαζο-
μένων τὴν ἀνομίαν συνχωσθέντες (συγχωσθήσονται καὶ K) κακῶς τὸν βίον καταλύ-
σουσιν. γενήσεται δὲ (καὶ add. K) ὁ ἥλιος μέλας καὶ σκοτεινὸς καὶ ἡ σελήνη ὡς αἷμα
διὰ τοὺς χοιρώδεις ἀνθρώπους καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πᾶν δὲ ὄρος
καὶ πᾶσα (πᾶς C) νῆσος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔδρας τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν φόβῳ τοῦ σεισμοῦ καὶ
τῆς ἀπειλῆς (φόβῳ add. C) μετακινήσονται. τότε οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν
καταλειφθέντων ἐναρέτων καὶ ἐγκρατῶν φύγωσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ
εἰς (εἰς om. K) τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν CK δὲ: γὰρ D τοιγαροῦν E οὖν
καὶ P || 80 σκῆπτρον: σκῆπτρον τῆς ἀνομίας DE ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ (πυρὶ om. E):
σκότει τῷ ἐξωτέρῳ CK || 81 Ῥώμη: τῇ Ῥωμαιοῦν πόλει E τῇ πρεσβυτέρῃ Ῥώμῃ
CK Ῥίζα: Ῥίζω P Ῥίζα ἢ ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ E Ἀρσενεόνει C Ἀρσενεῶν K Ἀρμε-
νόπετρα D || 82 Στροβίλῳ BMY Στροβύλῳ OCK Καρνούπολει scripsi: Καρύου πόλει P Καρνοπολεὶ K Καρνοπόλει β Καρύλῳ πόλει D Καλύρῳ πόλει E
Καλυρόπολιν C γὰρ om. DEP || 83 ἀναπαύσονται: ὁ αὐλισθεὶς ἀναπαύσεται E
ἐπαναπαύσονται οἱ (οἱ om. K) λαοὶ CK καὶ^a om. P || 85 ἀκοὰς πολέμων:
ἀκαταστασίας BY || 86 tit. περὶ τοῦ τρίτου ἀσεβοῦς βασιλέως E || 87 ὄνος: ὄνου P
ἔσται καὶ μέλας CK (an ἄνθρωπος legendum?) || 87–88 ἔξαρνος ... γραφὰς:
ἀρνητὴς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀλλότριος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν. ἀνοίξει γὰρ
τὰς μυσαρὰς βίβλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων (τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰς μυσαρὰς βίβλους C) CK ||
89–102 ἀπὸ ... συντριμμὸς φοβερός om. β || 89 ἀπὸ ... διάβολος: καὶ διώκει
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ CK τοῦ Σατανᾶ E || 90 ναοὺς: τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἁγίων
CK ἡλούς D

- 860 A ἱερατεῖον εἰς πτώσιν καὶ κατακοπὴν λαοῦ τῆς μέσεως ποιήσῃ κατὰ
 τὰς δημοσίας | στράτας. Καὶ τότε προδώσουσι φίλοι φίλους εἰς θάνατον
 καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ γείτονες γείτονας καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον καὶ
 95 τέκνον πατέρα. Καὶ πολλοὶ λήλῳ κυρίου ὁμολογήσουσιν, ὧν τὸ τέλος
 μακάριον· οὗτοι γὰρ σὺν Χριστῷ βασιλεύσουσιν. Τότε οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις
 καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς κοιλάσι ταῖς πρὸς Θρᾴκην τε καὶ τὴν κάτω κατοικοῦντες
 ἔσονται εἰς ἔρήμωσιν, σπήλαια δαιμόνων γενόμενοι καὶ κνωδάλων καὶ
 ἔρπετῶν καταγῶγια. Ἔσονται δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ κτύποι ἐν τῷ
 100 οὐρανῷ φοβερώτατοι καὶ σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι καὶ συμπτώματα πόλεων
 μεγάλων. Ἀναστήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν
 καὶ ἔσται συντριμμὸς φοβερὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἑθλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία
 860 B ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Τότε φανήσεται πῦρ ἀπ' | οὐρανοῦ ὥσει
 ἀστραπῆς τάχος <ἐν> ἀπειλῇ ἐπισκιάζον πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς,
 105 καὶ πετεινῶν συνοχαὶ πολλαί, καὶ ὄφεων πονηρῶν τότε πλησθήσεται
 ἡ γῆ δακνόντων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς σεβομένους τοῖς παραπτώμασιν.
 Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ὧδίνων καθεστήκασιν.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀθέου σκήπτρου τούτου, τότε ἔρχεται ὁ
 Αἰθιοπίας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου κέρατος, ὃν φασιν ἔτη δώδεκα κατέχειν τῆς

92 κατακοπὴν ... ποιήσῃ: συγκόψει τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ λαοῦ CK (locus dubius) λαοῦ om. E || 96–99 τότε ... καταγῶγια: τότε (γὰρ add. K) τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν ταῖς (τοῖς C) νήσοις ἐξεδαφίσας εἰς τὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ Μακεδονίας (καὶ Στρυμόνος add. K) μέρη μεταγάγει (μετάγει C). ἔσονται δὲ αἱ νῆσοι εἰς ἔρήμωσιν, σπήλαια δαιμόνων καὶ ἔρπετῶν ἐπὶ μῆσιν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε (ἐπὶ ... πέντε om. K) CK || 96 νήσοις E || 97 οἱ om. E ταῖς!: τοῖς E κοιλάσι: κοιλάδες DE ταῖς² scripsi: τοῖς P τὴν D αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ E κατοικοῦντες scripsi: ἄκοντας (ἀκούον-τας P) αὐτοὺς DEP || 98 ἔσονται: πεσοῦνται D μετάγεται καὶ ἔσονται αἱ νῆσοι E ἔρήμωσιν: ἔρημον E γενόμενοι E γενόμενα P || 99 post κατα-γῶγια (sic E: βαττολογία DP) add. ἐπὶ μῆσιν εἴκοσι πέντε E, cf. C || 101 ἀνα-στήσεται: ἀναβήσεται P ἐπὶ!: πρὸς D βασιλεῖς (-εὺς P) ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς DP || 102 φοβερός om. P ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς: inc. β post lacunam θλίψις: ἔσταιθλίψις β || 103 πῦρ: πῦρ ἀπηνθρακωμένον CK || 104 τάχος: πάχος βP ἐν ἀπειλῇ scripsi: ἀπειλῇ βE καὶ ἀπειλῇ P ἀπειλοῦν D ἐπισκιάζον: ἐπισκεπάζων P || 105 πολλαί: πολλαὶ γενήσονται E πολλαὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι γενήσονται CK || 106 σεβομένους τοῖς παραπτώμασιν: ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις βιώσαντας (βιώσαντας om. C) καὶ μὴ μετα-νοήσαντας CK || 107 ἀρχαὶ β καθεστήκασιν: εἰσὶν CK, post quod add. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος τοὺς τεταγ-μένους (οἱ ὄντες τεταγμένοι C) ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνέμων τοῦ (τοῦ om. K) ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναφράξουσι (-ωσιν C) τὰς ἀναπνοὰς αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ πνεῦσαι ὅλως ἄνεμον (ἄνεμον om. C) ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην (ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένη C) ὥστε γενέσθαι θάλψιν (θλίψιν C) βιαίαν βρασμὸν τε καὶ καύσωνα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον (προσώπου C) πάσης τῆς γῆς, ὅπως στενοχωρηθέντες (στενοχωρούμενοι C) οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιστρέψουσι μετανόησαντες (μετανοοῦντες C) ἐφ' οἷς ἡμαρτον. τὰ δὲ μεγάλα πλοῖα μὴ δυνάμενα ἄνευ ἀνέμου (ἄνεμον in ἀνέμου correctum K) πλεῖν (πλέειν K) τὴν θάλασσαν, τῇ βίᾳ στενοχωρούμενα, βλασφημῆσουσιν (-ωσιν C) ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν. τότε πᾶν χλωρόν, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φυτὸν φημι, καὶ δένδρων τὰ ὑψηλότατα (τὸ ἐπὶ ... ὑψηλότατα: δένδρον C) ξηρανθήσονται (etiam C), καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἰωῶν, τῶν τε (τε om. C) κτηνῶν καὶ (τῶν add. C) πετεινῶν, ἔρπετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀτιθάσων (ἀντι- C) τελευτή-σουσιν (-ωσιν C). γενήσεται δὲ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὡς αἷμα. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῶν ἰχθύων τελευτήσῃ, διότι ὠργίσθη (ὀργισθῇ C) αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ ἀμετανόητον αὐτῶν. μισήσουσι γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ πολλῆς κακίας αὐτῶν, μὴ βουλόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς βλέπειν ἢ διορθοῦσθαι εἰς 'τὰ κρεῖττονα καὶ σωτηρίας ἐχόμενα' (μὴ βουλόμενοι ... ἐχόμενα om. C) ἀλλ' (καὶ C) 'ἐν τῷ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν' καθὼς ὁ κύριος εἶπεν (εἶπεν ὁ κύριος C): 'ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν' (Matt. 24:12) CK || 108 tit. περὶ δ' ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως E καὶ om. D τούτου ante τοῦ tr. DE

- 110 βασιλείας τοὺς οἴακας. Οὗτος ἀγαθὸς καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ
 860 C ἀγίων οἴκους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπτωθέντας ἀναστήσει καὶ ὡς ἀγαθὸς
 ἀγαπηθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἐφαπλωθήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη κυρίου
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ | ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένη καὶ ἔσται χαρὰ καὶ ἀγαλλίασις.
 Παρελεύσεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σκῆπτρον, καὶ ἐλεύσεται σκῆπτρον
 115 ἕτερον ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας <ὃς βασιλεύσει>, ὡς φασι, χρόνον ἓνα. Καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐνωθήσεται τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ ξύλου τὰ
 ἅγια τμήματα εἰς ἓν νεῦσει τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ καὶ δοθήσεται τῷ βασιλεῖ.
 Καὶ αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τόπῳ οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν οἰκείαις χερσὶν αὐτοῦ παραθήσει
 120 ἐκεῖ τὸ τίμιον ξύλον καὶ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας διάδημα. Παραδώσει δὲ
 κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σὺν τούτοις καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.
 Καὶ τότε ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῦτη νεώτεροι τρεῖς, ἀναιδεῖς,
 μωροὶ καὶ ἀνωφέλειοι, καὶ κρατήσουσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν πεντή-
 860 D κοντα. | Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπ' εἰσαγωγῇ διαβόλου ὀργισθέντες ἑαυτοῖς
 861 A 125 δώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις πόλεμον καθ' ἑαυτοὺς | ἰσχυρόν. Καὶ ἐπάρας ὁ
 πρῶτος εἰσέλθῃ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, λέγων αὐτῇ· Ἐσσεαλονίκη, σὺ νική-
 σεις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου, καύχημα γὰρ ἀγίων σὺ εἶ καὶ ἡγίασέν σε ὁ

110 καὶ¹ om. E || 111 πρὸ: ὑπὸ τῶν (τοῦ K) πρὸ ECK συμπτωθέντας: πτωθέντας P συμπτωθέντων E ἀναστήσει: οἰκοδομήσει ante τοὺς πρὸ D post ἀναστήσει add. ἀποστρέφει τε καὶ ταῖς (τοῖς E) νήσοις τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶν πάντα (ἅπαντα CK) ECK || 112–13 ἐφαπλωθήσεται (ἐπ-DE) ... οἰκουμένη: ἐνευλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔθνει CK || 113 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ scripsi: ἐπ' αὐτὸν βDP δι' αὐτὸν E post ἀγαλλίασις add. ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ CK || 114 σκῆπτρον¹: σκῆπτρον P || 114–21 καὶ ἐλεύσεται (ἐλεύσεται γὰρ D ἐλεύσεται δὲ EP) ... ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ: ἐλεύσεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε (ἀπ' αὐτοῦ K) ὁ ἐξ Ἀραβίας ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ὃς κέκτηται ἐκ τοῦ (ἐκ τοῦ om. C) τιμίου ξύλου (σταυροῦ ξύλα [sic] K) μερίδα, ἀνοίξουσιν (οἱ ἄνθρωποι add. C) τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν καὶ κενοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσουσιν (κενὰς αὐτὰς θεάσονται C)· νεῦσει γὰρ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ἐνωθήσονται τὰ ἅγια τμήματα καὶ γενήσεται ὁλόκληρος καὶ ἀκέραιος καθὼς προσηλωθῇ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν (ἐνωθήσονται γὰρ τὰ ἅγια τμήματα τοῦ ζωοδώρου σταυροῦ νεῦσει τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ὡς ἐτήμηθ' ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὁλόκληρος δὲ [δαὶ cod.] καὶ ἀκέραιος εὐρεθήσεται καθὼς προσηλωθῇ ὁ Χριστὸς C) καὶ δοθήσεται τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὸν (αὐτὸ K) πορεύσεται ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ Κρανίου οἰκείαις χερσὶν αὐτοῦ παραδώσει τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν τὸ τε διάδημα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ σταυροῦ θέμενος (καὶ add. C) ἀνυψώσας ἑρεῖ· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, τετέλεσται (-σθαι C) καὶ πεπλήρωται ὁ ψῆφος καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἔτων ὧν περ τεθη- σαύρηκας τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων· δέξαι σου τὸ αἰδίδιμον καὶ θαυμάσιον δόρυ (δόρυ K: C legere nequeo), σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ εὐθέως ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταπτὰς ἄρει τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν σὺν τῷ διαδήματι (τὸ διάδημα C) καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ βασιλέως. τότε παρέρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τῶν (τῶν om. K) Ῥω- μαίων. ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία τῶν χριστιανῶν (τῶν γὰρ χρ. ἡ β. K) ὁ τίμιος σταυρὸς ἐστίν (κεχρημάτηκεν K). μακάριοι οὖν (οὖν om. K) εἰσιν οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ ἀπερχόμενοι (καὶ ἀπ. om. C) ἐν ἐρήμοις καὶ ὄρεσιν (σπηλαίοις K) καὶ ταῖς ὁπαῖς τῆς γῆς CK || 114 ante ἐλεύσεται add. tit. περὶ ἑτέρου ε' ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως E σκῆπτρον²: σκῆπτρον P || 115 ἀπὸ: τὸ ἀπὸ DE ὃς βασιλεύσει addidi post φασι add. βασιλεύσαι Y χρόνον ante ὡς tr. E ἓνα om. DEP || 117 ἐν νεῦσει: αἶνεσιν β ἔμπνευσιν D || 118 τόπῳ: τῷ τόπῳ E || 118–19 Ἰησοῦ (om. β) ... ἡμῶν: κυρίου P || 119 αὐτοῦ om. P || 120 ἐκεῖ: ἐπὶ DP om. E καί: ἅμα καὶ E om. P δὲ om. D || 121 τούτοις: τοῖς ἑκατέροις E τῶν ἑκατέρων DP || 123 ἀνωφέλειοι: -ητοι DP ἀνωφελεῖς M ἐξωλέστατοι CK post εἰρήνῃ add. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ E || 124 ἑαυτοὺς D || 125 ἀλλήλους D καθ' ἑαυτῶν E ἐπάρας: ἀπάρας CK, quod malui, sed cf. 138 || 126 εἰσέλθῃ om. D εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην DE || 127 ἀγίων: ἅγιον D om. βP ἡγίασέν: ἡγαλλίασέν D

- “Υψιστος.” Καὶ τότε στρατοπεδεύσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτῆς ἀπὸ ἑπταετοῦς
καὶ τὴν ἄνω, καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ μονάζοντας φορέσει ἄρματα πολεμικά.
130 Καὶ ποιήσει πλοῖα μεγάλα καὶ ἀπέλθῃ ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ στὰς πρὸ τῆς
πύλης αὐτῆς ἐρεῖ αὐτῇ· ‘Χαίροις, Ῥώμῃ τρίρρουμε, ἡ μάχαιρά σου
ὀξεῖα, τὰ βέλη σου πυκνά, ἔντιμος εἶ σύ, κράτει τὴν πίστιν σου, μὴ
ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ σοῦ, μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν σοί.’ Τότε στρατεύσει
τὰ ξανθὰ γένη καὶ ποιήσῃ ναῦς καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ἀναμέσον Δήλου καὶ
135 Ἀθήλου καὶ ἐκδέξεται τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ.
861 B Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος μεῖραξ ἐκστρατεύσει καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,
τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων, καὶ στρατεύσει τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ μονάζοντας
μανίᾳ δεινῇ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων. Καὶ ἐπάρας ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν τῆς
κτίσεως (τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν) κάκεισε ἐκδέξεται τοὺς
140 ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ, μεθ’ ὧν ὀφείλει δικάζεσθαι ὀξυνόμενος καὶ μαινόμενος.
Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐξελεύσεται καὶ στρατοπεδεύσει καὶ αὐτὸς Φρυγίαν,
Καρλίαν, Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν καὶ
ἐλεύσεται ἐν Συλαίῳ, τὰδε λέγων· ‘Σύλαιον κληθήσεται καὶ οὐ συλ-
ληφθήσεται οὐδὲ παραληφθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.’ Καὶ ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς
145 ἐλεύσεται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν λαῷ ἄσυνθέτῳ, τουτέστιν μὴ ὄντι ὑποκάτω
αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ.
861 C Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ συναχθῆναι αὐτοὺς κατέναντι ἀλλήλων, τότε κροτή-
σουσιν πόλεμον μέγαν καὶ φοβερὸν καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συγκόψουσιν
ἀλλήλους μεληδὸν ὥσπερ ἐν μακέλλῳ τὰ πρόβατα. Καὶ ἀποκτανθή-
150 σονται οἱ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, καὶ γενομένης κοπῆς χυθήσεται αἷμα Ῥωμαίων
ὥσει ἀφόρητος βροχή, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ καταλειφθήσεται οὐδὲ εἷς.
Τότε συγκερασθήσεται ἡ θάλασσα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος
αὐτῶν σταδίου δώδεκα. Καὶ λοιπὸν πᾶσα γυνὴ χήρα, ὥστε ἑπτὰ

128 στρατοπεδεύσει: στρατεύσει D, quod malui, sed cf. 141 τοὺς λαοὺς MDE ||
129 τοὺς μονάζοντας DEP φορέσει: ποιήσῃ, φορέσει E (lege ποιήσῃ φορέσαι) ||
130 ποιήσῃ ... καὶ² om. P || 131 αὐτῆς om. β τρίρρουμε scripsi: τρίρουμε
codd. || 134 καὶ ... ναῦς (ναύκλας E αὐλακας P) om. β || 135 Ἀθήλου: ἀθήλων D
ἐκδέξεται: ἐκδέξεται E ἐκλέξεται βP || 136 ἐκστρατεύσει: καὶ στρατεύσει P an
αὐτὸς <εἷς> τὴν legendum? post Μεσοποταμίαν add. καὶ CK || 137 τὰς
κυκλάδας (cf. 280): τὴν κυκλάδα E τὰς κοιλάδας DP post μονάζοντας (τοὺς μ.
DEP) add. καὶ τὸν λαὸν E || 138 post ἄλλων add. κρατούμενος E ἐπάρας:
ἀπάρας CK, sed cf. 125 ἐπὶ: κατὰ DP || 139 ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: τὴν Ἀλεξάνδ-
ρειαν λέγεσθαι ὀμφαλὸν εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης CK || 140 post ὀξυνόμενος add.
δεινῶς κατ’ αὐτῶν E καὶ μαινόμενος om. YD || 141 ὁ δὲ: καὶ ὁ DEP post
τρίτος add. πάλιν E ἐξελεύσεται: ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης add. E καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς
τῆς πόλεως add. CK καὶ αὐτὸς: ante καὶ στρατοπεδεύσει tr. Y om. DEP ||
142 καὶ² om. YD καὶ³: τε καὶ E τὴν Ἀραβίαν MY || 143–146 ἐλεύσεται ...
αὐτοῦ²: ἐν (τῷ add. C) Συλαίῳ γενόμενος τὰδε ἐρεῖ πρὸς αὐτήν· Σύλαιον ἐπικέκλησαι
ἀλλ’ οὐ συληθήσῃ οὐδὲ παραληφθήσῃ ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς τῶν πολεμούντων σε. ταῦτα
εἰρηκῶς ἀπάρας τὰ στρατεύματα (τὸ στράτευμα C) αὐτοῦ ἐν λαῷ ἄσυνθέτῳ γενή-
σεται CK || 143 Συλαίῳ: Σιέλλῳ Y τὰδε λέγων: τὸ δὲ (δὲ om. P) λεγόμενον
βDP Σύλαιον: Σιέλλον Y συλληφθήσεται: συλληθήσεται EP || 144 post
αἰῶνα add. καὶ ὁ λαὸς κεῖται εἰς ἔντιμον E || 145 εἰσελεύσεται DE ἐν λαῷ om. P
ἄσυνθέτῳ: ἄσύνθετος P ἄσυντέτῳ β ὄντος DEP || 147 γοῦν: οὖν DEP ||
149 ἀλλήλους: ἀλλήλοις BO ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλήλους E ἐν ... πρόβατα: οἱ ἐν μακέλλῳ
ταῖς ῥάχεσι τῶν προβάτων E || 150 κοπῆς: μεγάλῃς τοῦ λαοῦ add. E μεγάλῃς ἐκ
τοῦ πλήθους τῶν στρατευμάτων add. CK τῶν Ῥωμαίων E || 151 ὥσει Y:
ὥς ἢ BOMP ὥς DE οὐδὲ εἷς: οὐδεῖς D

- 155 γυναῖκες ζητήσουσιν ἓνα ἄνδρα ἔχειν καὶ οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν, μέχρις ἂν
 861 D ἀπὸ ἄλλοδαπῆς χώρας ἀκούσαντες ἤξουσιν. Καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ κατα-
 λειφθέντες ἀνήλικοι ἀνδρυνθέντες ἔσονται ὡς χοῖροι ἀπὸ πολλῆς ἀσωτίας
 864 A μὴ αἰσθανόμενοι. Τότε μακάριοι καὶ τρισμακάριοι οἱ ἐν ὄρεσι | καὶ
 160 σπηλαίοις τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες, ὅτι τὰ δημοσίως γινόμενα κακὰ οὐ
 θεάσονται, ἀλλ' ἔσονται ἰδίως | ἐπὶ θύραις ἐκδεχόμενοι τὸ μέγα ἔλεος,
 οἱ γλυκύτατοι ἄρνες οἱ μέλλοντες διὰ Χριστὸν θύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ
 δαίμονος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου.
- Τότε διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄνδρα ἐπίσημον ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς ἀπωλείας
 ἀναστήσεται γύναιον ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου αἰσχρὸν † μόνδιον † καὶ βασιλεύσει
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. Καὶ αὕτη βακχεύτρια, τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ,
 165 μάγισσα καὶ ἄρρενοθηλυμανῆς, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῆς ἔσονται
 ἀλλήλων ἐπιβουλαὶ καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ ῥύμην καὶ κατὰ οἰκίαν, καὶ
 864 B σφάξουσιν υἱὸς πατέρα καὶ πατήρ υἱὸν καὶ μήτηρ θυγατέρα καὶ
 θυγάτηρ μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν καὶ φίλος φίλον, καὶ | ἔσται κακία
 πολλή καὶ μῖσος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἐνδοθεν
 170 ἀσέλγεια καὶ ἀσωτία καὶ αἰμομιξία καὶ κιθάραι καὶ ὀρχήσεις καὶ
 τραγωδία σατανικαὶ καὶ χλευασμοὶ καὶ παίγνια, ἅπερ ἄνθρωπος οὕτε
 εἶδεν οὕτε ἰδεῖν δύναται ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ βασιλὶς
 ἐκείνη ἡ ἀκάθαρτος, θεὰν ἑαυτὴν κρατοῦσα καὶ θεῶ μαχομένη καὶ
 προαιρομένη μετ' αὐτοῦ παλαίσασθαι, κόπρῳ μιάνη τὰ ἅγια θυσια-
 175 στήρια, καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης αὐτῆς ἅπαντι μιάσματι μιάνη πάντα τὸν
 λαόν. Καὶ στρέψει τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς εἰς κακὰ καὶ ἀρπάσει πᾶν
 864 C σκεῦος ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ συναθροίσει τὰς τιμίας μορφώσεις | τῶν ἁγίων
 καὶ τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς καὶ τὰ ἅγια εὐαγγέλια καὶ ἅπαντα ἀπόστολον
 καὶ ἅπαν ἔγγραφον βιβλίον καὶ ποιήσει σωρὸν μέγαν καὶ βαλοῦσα
 180 πῦρ πάντα κατατεφρώσει. Καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας καταστρέψει καὶ ζητήσει

154–55 μέχρις ... ἤξουσιν om. P || 154 ἂν: ὅτε E || 156 ἀνδρυνθέντες: ἀνδριθέντες
 ante οἱ καταλειφθέντες E ἀνδρυνθήσονται καὶ DP ὡς: ὥσει E || 159 τὸ μέγα ἔλεος:
 τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου μάχην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον CK || 162 tit. περὶ τῆς αἰσχροῦς καὶ
 ἀνόμου γυναικὸς E τότε διὰ: τότε δὲ διὰ D διὰ δὲ E ἐπίσημον: αἰδέσιμον CK ||
 163 ἀναστήσονται BO ἐκ ... μόνδιον: ἐκ τοῦ πόντου αἰσχρὸν μόνδιον O ἐκ τοῦ
 πόντου αἰσχρὸν Y αἰσχρὸν μόνδιον ἐκ τοῦ πόντου DE αἰσχρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πόντου P
 πονηρὸν μόντιον τε καὶ αἰσχροτάτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πόντου CK || 164 αὕτη: αὕτῃ D ||
 165 μάγισσα: μάγισσα O ἄρρενοθηλυμανῆς: -ές DEP φαρμακὸς CK αὐτῆς: ταύ-
 τῃς D || 166 ἀλλήλων ἐπιβουλαί: ἀ. ἐπιβουλαί P ἀλληλοεπιβουλαί DE σφαγαί:
 σφαγμοὶ EP φραγμοὶ D || 167 σφάξουσιν: σφάξωσιν D σφάξει P || 169 μῖσος: καὶ
 φθόνοι ἀναρίθμητοι καὶ φόνοι add. E ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνοι ἀναρίθμη-
 τοι add. CK πόλει: χώρα β ἀγίαις om. D ἐνδοθεν: ἔσωθεν P τότε
 ἔσονται ἐνδοθεν E || 170 ἀσέλγεια scripsi: ἀσελγεία vel -εῖα vel -ίαι codd. ||
 172 δυνήσεται P || 173 ἡ ἀκάθαρτος: ὡς ἀκάθαρτον P κρατοῦσα: κρατοῦσαν OY
 ὀνομάζουσα C ὀνομάσει K || 173–74 μαχομένη ... παλαίσασθαι: πολεμήσει P ||
 173 καί: ἡ καὶ E om. Y || 174 κόπρῳ: καὶ κόπρῳ YP καὶ γὰρ τότε κόπρῳ DE
 μιανεῖ Y μιανῇ P μιανεῖ BO || 175 τῆς αἰσχύνης ... μιάνη: πλυνεῖ τὸ σῶμα
 αὐτῆς ὕδατι καὶ μολύνῃ (μολυνεῖ K) CK ἅπαντι μιάσματι Janning: ἅπαν
 μιάσματι D ἀπαμύσματα EP ἀπαμύσματα BO (etiam Y?) μιάσματα M μιανεῖ D
 τὸν om. β || 176 εἰς om. D post κακὰ add. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων τίμια ἀτιμάσει E ||
 177 ἐκ τοῦ: ἐκάστου E || 178 πάντα ἀπόστολον β ἅπαντας ἀποστόλους E ||
 179 ἅπαν: ἅπαντα β πᾶσαν CK βιβλίον: βίβλον β βίβλον ἱερὰν PC βιβλίον
 τὸ οἰοδήποτε γράμματι πνευματικῶ συνεπιτιθεμένῳ (lege -μένον) E ἱερὰν (sic) K
 μέγαν scripsi (etiam C): μεγάλῃ βDEP μέγα K || 180 κατατεφρώσει πάντα
 DEP post καταστρέψει add. μέχρι ἐδάφους E ||

- βασιλείας μελήσει τῷ θεῷ τὰ θεόσκηπτρα Ἰσραὴλ ἐξανίστασθαι πρὸς
 210 τὸ βασιλεῦσαι τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐβδόμου αἰῶνος,
 φέροντες εἰς μαρτυρίαν τὸ ὑπὸ Ἑσαίου εἰρημένον· ‘Καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς
 ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἀρεῖ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σημεῖον ἐν τῇ συμπληρώσει τῶν
 ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα τὰ διεσκορπισμένα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ συνάξει
 τοὺς ἀπολομένους Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἔσται
 215 τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὡς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου,’ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 μακαρίου Παύλου εἰρημένον· ‘Ὅταν τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν ᾗξει, τότε
 865 C πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται.’ Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσιν καὶ ἰσοφωνοῦ-
 σιν, Ἰππόλυτος δὲ ὁ μάρτυς ἔφησεν ὅτι τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου
 πρῶτοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πλανηθήσονται· καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπιμαρτυρούμενος
 220 αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔλεγεν ὅτι ‘Εγὼ ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ
 πατρός μου, καὶ οὐ λαμβάνετε με· ἄλλος ἐλεύσεται ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι,
 κἀκεῖνον λήψετε.’ ‘Ὅτι μὲν οὖν συνάξει αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλήμ
 καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνταποδώσει, ὅπως τοῦ διεσκορπισμοῦ τὴν
 † ἐπ’ ἀπώλειας † πρόφασιν ἐν τῷ τέως ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκκόπηται· ἔμελλον
 225 γὰρ λέγειν ἐν τῇ κρίσει ὅτι ‘Εἰ ἐπεσύναξας ἡμᾶς εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὰ
 ἡμῶν ἡμῖν ἀπεκατέστησας, πάλαί ἂν ἐπιστεύσαμεν τῷ Χριστῷ, τὴν
 ἀφορμὴν τοῦ φθόνου ἐξεώσαντες τοῦ ἔνεκεν προτιμηθῆναι τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ
 865 D ἡμᾶς,’ εἰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίησεν· | νῦν δὲ συναχθέντες καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν
 ἀπολαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπιστίᾳ μέιναντες, πῶς σωθήσονται,
 230 εὐθέως τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἐξερχομένου ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν; ὥ καὶ πιστεύειν
 μέλλουσι κατὰ τὴν φοβερὰν φωνὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· θεὸς γὰρ οὐ
 ψεύδεται ὁ μονογενὴς ὁ εἰπών· ‘Εγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια.’ Τέως δὲ ἐν τῷ
 συνάξει αὐτοὺς ἐν πρώτοις τῆς ἀπολογίας ταύτης αὐτοὺς ἀποστερήσει·
 868 A καὶ γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος σωθήσεσθαι | αὐτοὺς εἶρηκεν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου
 235 κολάσεως ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τῶν τοσούτων ἐτῶν περιπλανήσεως τῆς ἐπ’
 ἄλλοτρίας καὶ τοῦ ὀνειδισμοῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἀφάτου αἰσχύνης·
 ὅτι ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ χλευασμῷ τοσαῦτα ἔτη ὑπὸ
 ἐθνῶν κωμωδούμενοι χρηματίζοντες σωθήσονται τῆς δουλείας καὶ τοῦ

209 μελήσει τῷ θεῷ: μελήσεται ὁ θεὸς DEP θεόσκηπτρα: θεόσκηπτα EP ||
 210 λοιπὸν: ὑπόλοιπον E εἰς: πρὸς DE καὶ πρὸς P || 211 ὑπὸ Ἑσαίου (-αν P)
 om. E ἔσται om. D || 212 post ἡμέραις add. φησὶν DP ἀρεῖ: ἀρη D ἀρει
 EP || 213 post ἐπὶ add. πάντα DEP post πρόβατα add. Ἰουδα DE
 ἐσκορπισμένα P ἐν om. β || 214 ἀπολομένους scripsi: ἀπολλυμένους βP ἀπωσ-
 μένους DE ἐν om. D || 215 γῆς: τῆς β || 216 Παύλου: ἀποστόλου D ὅταν:
 ὅταν φησὶ E ὅτι P || 217 οὕτως EP ἰσοφωνοῦσιν: οὐ σωφρωνῶσιν P ||
 218 μάρτυς: μακάριος D || 219 οἱ om. BMYD post Χριστὸς add. δὲ E ἐπι-
 μαρτυρούμενος β || 220 post ἐγὼ add. φησὶ E ἐν: ἐπὶ EP || 222 post λήψετε
 add. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖσθε DE, cf. Ioh. 8,21, 24 || 223 τὰ ...
 αὐτοῖς: τὰ αὐτῶν D αὐτὰ αὐτῶν β ἀνταποδώσει: ἀνταποδῶσθαι DE ἀπο-
 δῶσθαι β post ἀποδῶσθαι (sic) add. εὐδηλον K || 224 ἐπ’ ἀπώλειας:
 ἐπαπώλειαν D ἀπώλειαν βP || 224-25 πρόφασιν ... Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ E: om.
 βDP || 225 ἐπεσύναξας scripsi: ἐπεσύναξες E || 226 post ἡμῖν add. εἰ BMD
 πάλαί ἂν: ἀλλ’ ἐὰν P τὴν: τοῦ βD || 227 φθόνου: φόνου βDP ἔνεκα β ||
 228 εἰ om. D ἐποίησεν: εἶχον ἂν τοῦ λέγειν add. β εἶχον λέγειν add. P ||
 229 καὶ om. D τῇ αὐτῇ: τοιαύτῃ E || 230 post εὐθέως add. δὲ P ἐξερχο-
 μένου: ἐρχομένου DP ἐν μέσῳ: ἐκ μέσου E || 232 δε: καὶ D || 234 σωθῆναι D ||
 235 ἀλλ’ ἐκ: ἀλλὰ DE || 236 ἄλλοτρίας: ἄλλοτρίοις β || 237 post τοσαύτη add.
 φησὶ E τοσαῦτα ἔτη: ἔθνη β DP || 238 κωμωδούμενα χρηματίζοντα β

- 240 ζυγοῦ ὡς συναχθέντες εἰς τὰ ἴδια, οὐ μέντοι, ὡς προεῖπον, τῆς αἰωνίου
κολάσεως· οὓς γὰρ ἡ θλίψις οὐκ ἔπεισε πιστεῦσαι τῷ ζωοποιῷ καὶ
μονογενεῖ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς πείσει αὐτοὺς ἡ νομιζομένη χαρά; καὶ
τὰ ἐξῆς.”
- 868 B Ἐπιφάνιος εἶπεν· “Ἀφες ταῦτα, φίλτατε πάτερ· | τοῦτό μοι ἀνάγγει-
λον· καὶ γὰρ τινές φασι μὴ συμποντίζεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
245 μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἀλλ’ ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει κρεμασθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ
ἁέρος.” Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἔφη· “Τί λέγεις, τέκνον; Πάσης τῆς πόλεως
βυθιζομένης αὕτη πῶς μένει; Τίς δὲ ὁ ταύτης δεόμενος; Μὴ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς
ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ; Οὐ μέντοι ψευδὴς ὁ λόγος· μένει δὲ
250 ὁ μόνος ὁ ἐν τῷ φόρῳ στῦλος, καθότι κέκτηται τοὺς τιμίους ἥλους. Αὐτὸς
οὖν μόνος μένει καὶ σωθήσεται, ὥστε παραγενόμενα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ τοὺς σχοίνους αὐτῶν ἀποδήσαντες κλαύσουσι καὶ θρηνήσουσι
τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ταύτην λέγοντες· ‘Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡ
μεγάλη βεβύθισται, ἐν ἣ εἰσιόντες τὰς πραγματείας ἐποιοῦμεν καλῶς
ἐν αὐτῇ.’
- 868 C 255 Ἔσται δὲ τὸ πένθος αὐτῆς | ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα. Ἀπὸ γοῦν τῶν
ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων δοθήσεται τὸ βασίλειον Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ Συλαίῳ καὶ τῇ
Θεσσαλονίκη, τοῦ τέλους ἤδη ἐγγίσαντος. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἄτονα τὰ
πράγματα γενήσονται καὶ δεινότερα καὶ ὀλέθρια· τὸ γὰρ ἔτος ἐκείνο
ἀποφράξει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐν † Ἰνδαλίᾳ † ἃς ἔκλεισεν
260 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ ἐξελεύσονται βασιλεῖς ἑβδομήκοντα
δύο ἅμα τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν, τὰ λεγόμενα ῥυπαρὰ ἔθνη, τὰ βδελυρότερα
868 D πάσης συχασίας | καὶ δυσωδίας, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται ἐν πάσῃ τῇ
γῇ τῇ ὑπ’ οὐρανόν, σάρκας ἀνθρώπων ζώσας ἐσθιόντες καὶ τὸ αἷμα
869 A πίνοντες, κύνας καὶ | μῦσας καὶ βατράχους τρώγοντες καὶ πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν
265 τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ἡδονῇ. Καὶ οὐαὶ τῇ οἰκουμένη πάσῃ ἐν ἣ οὗτοι πορεύ-

239 τῆς: ἀπὸ τῆς P || 240 ἡ θλίψις: θλίψις β θλίψεις P || 243 tit. ἐρώτησις περὶ
τῆς ἀγίας σοφίας in marg. D φίλτατε πάτερ: πάτερ (πῆρ D) μου φίλτατε DE
πάτερ ἁγίε P τοῦτό: ἐμοὶ γὰρ περὶ λυμαιῶνων ἃς μέλλεται· τοῦτο δὲ E ||
244 καὶ γὰρ: ὅτι DEP συμποντίζεσθαι E συνποντίζεσθαι D τῇ πόλει: τὴν
πόλιν P om. β || 244–45 τὴν ... ἐκκλησίαν: τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγίᾳ σοφίᾳ D (καὶ
add. P) τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν EP || 245 ἀλλὰ DEP κρεμασθῆναι: κρε-
μασθεῖσαν ... φυλάττεσθαι (φυλάττεσθαι post ἁέρος) P || 246 δὲ om. DEP ||
247 μένει DEP δὲ: γὰρ DEP γὰρ om. E ὁ θεός: θεὸς ὁ D ὁ θεὸς ὁ EP ||
248 ἀχειροποιήτοις P κατοικεῖ: κατοικῶν DEP, post quod χρείαν ἔχει τινός add. P
μέντοι: μὲν οὖν EP μέντοι πάντῃ F μέντοι πάντως Janning μενεῖ E μένει P ||
250 οὖν: γὰρ DEP μενεῖ BME μένει P καὶ² om. OP || 251 ἀποδήσαντες:
ἀποδήσαντα M ἀποδήσουσιν καὶ P κλαύσωσι βD θρηνήσωσι βD || 252 λέ-
γοντες: καὶ θρηνοῦντες εἴπωσι E || 253 μεγάλη: ἀρχαία E ἀρχαία καὶ μεγάλη C
μεγάλη καὶ ἀρχαία K ἐποιοῦμεν: ἐπλουτοῦμεν E ποιοῦμενοι ἐπλουτοῦμεν CK ||
254 αὕτη: ταύτη D αὕτῃ ἐμπορευόμενοι E || 255 ἀπὸ γοῦν: καὶ ἀπὸ πόνου DE
καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνων P καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψεως CK || 256 Ῥώμη: ἐν Ῥώμῃ P τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ
Ῥώμῃ, ὡς αὐτῶς CK || 257 post Θεσσαλονίκη add. ὑποτασσόμενα τῷ ἐν (τῇ add. C)
Ῥώμῃ βασιλεύοντι CK τοῦ ... ἐγγίσαντος: πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐγγίσαντος ἤδη D
πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἤδη ἐγγίσαντες P πρὸς τὰ τέλη δὴ (lege ἤδη) τοῦ κόσμου ἐγγίσαντος
E || 258 ἔτος: καιρῷ E || 259 Ἰνδαλίᾳ: Ἰνδίᾳ D fortasse recte, κινδύνος P ||
260 post Μακεδόνων add. βασιλεὺς P βασιλεῖς: βασιλείαι D || 261 τοῦ λαοῦ
DEP βδελυρότατα D || 262 συχασίας: συνηχασίας B συγχασίας OMY αἰσ-
χύνης P || 263 ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν BOE || 264 τρώγοντες: δαπανῶντες D ἐσθιόντες
P om. E || 265 ἐν ἡδονῇ: ἐσθίουσιν σὺν ἡδονῇ P

270 σονται. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἐκείνας μὴ ἔστω χριστιανός, κύριε, εἰ
 δυνατόν· ἀλλ'οἶδα ὅτι ἔσονται. Τότε αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκείναι σκοτισθήσονται
 δίκην θρηνοῦσαι ἐν τῷ ἄερί διὰ τὸ μύσος, ὅπερ τὰ βδελυρὰ ἔθνη
 ἐργάσονται. Ὁ ἥλιος εἰς αἷμα γενήσεται βλέπων τὰ βδελύγματα ἐπὶ
 270 τῆς γῆς ἀμιλλώμενα. Ἡ σελήνη καὶ πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα σχολάσουσι.
 Φάγονται γὰρ καὶ τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς. Τὰ θυσιαστήρια κύθρων
 οἴκους ἐργάσονται καὶ τὰ τίμια σκεῦη ἐν μιάσματι χρήσονται. Τότε
 οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἀσίαν φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων
 (πενθήσει γὰρ Ἀσία τὰς νήσους καὶ αἱ νῆσοι τὴν Ἀσίαν) οὐ γὰρ
 275 πορεύονται ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ λαοί, ἀλλ'ἔσονται πενθοῦντες ἡμέρας ἑξακοσίας
 ἐξήκοντα.

869 B

Τότε ἐγερθήσεται ὁ Σατὰν ὁ Ἀντίχριστος ἐκ φυλῆς τοῦ Δάν (οὐ
 μέντοι ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ πλάσει
 αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σκεῦος αἰσχρὸν καὶ ῥυπαρόν, ὅπως πληρωθῇ ἐν
 280 αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν) καὶ ἀπολυθήσεται ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ᾄδου δεσμῶν,
 ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐκέισε γενόμενος ἔδνησεν, καὶ εἰσελεύ-
 σεται εἰς τὸ σκεῦος τὸ πλασθὲν αὐτῷ. Καὶ γεννηθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 καὶ ἀνδρυνθέντος καὶ βασιλεύσαντος, τότε ἄρξεται ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν
 πλάνην αὐτοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος. Τότε ἐγείρει πόλεμον
 285 ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων· νῆσοι δὲ εἰσιν, ὡς φησιν Ἡσαΐας, αἱ ἐξ
 ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαι. Ἡλιοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἐνώχ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς βροντῆς

266 μὲν οὖν: μὲν Y γὰρ DEP || 267 αἱ ... σκοτισθήσονται (σκοτασθήσονται D)
 om. P || 268–69 δίκην ... ἐργάσονται om. E || 268 δίκην: πλὴν P θρηνοῦσαι:
 θρηνοῦσαις BMY θρηνοῦσας O θρηνοῦσι P ἐν τῷ ἄερί D om. P
 post ἔθνη add. ἐκεῖνα DP || 269 ἐργάσονται: καὶ add. E ἀλλὰ καὶ add. P
 εἰς: ὡς DE γενήσεται D post βδελύγματα add. τὰ E || 270 πάντα τὰ:
 τὰ λοιπὰ P σχολάσουσι: σκοτάσουσι E σκοτάσσονται D || 271 γὰρ: δὲ οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι P τὰ: τὰ δὲ P || 271–72 κύθρων οἴκους: κύθροις οἴκων β κύθρους
 οἴκων (οἶκον D οἴκων P) DP (an κοπρίων pro κύθρων legendum?) || 272 καὶ ...
 χρήσονται om. D ἐν μιάσματι: CK μιάσματι BMY μιάσματα OEP || 273 Ἀσίαν:
 τὴν Ἀσίαν E κυκλάδας: κυλάδας O κοιλάδας P || 274 πενήσει ... Ἀσίαν om.
 D || 275 πορεύονται: ἐπὶ πορεύονται E ἐμπορεύονται P ἐν αὐταῖς: ἐν αὐτοῖς
 β ἐν αὐτῇ E αὐτὰς P οἱ λαοί: λαοί β || 275–76 ἑξακοσίας ἐξήκοντα: ἑξακοσίας
 ἐξήκοντα ἐξ E ἐκατὸν πενήκοντα CK || 277 tit. περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου καὶ τῆς
 συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου τούτου K Σατὰν: σατανὰς DP || 279 αὐτῷ (quod post
 σκεῦος tr.) E: αὐτὸν βDP || 281 Χριστὸς ἐκέισε om. β || 282 post αὐτῷ add. ἀναβάς
 ἐκ τοῦ ᾄδου E γεννηθέντος: γενομένου P om. E || 282–83 αὐτοῦ... ἀνδρυνθέντος:
 ἀνδρυνθέντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοῦ E || 283 ἄρξεται E ἐπιδείξασθαι E ἐπιδεικνύειν
 DP || 284 post φησιν add. περὶ αὐτοῦ DEP τότε: τότε γὰρ D τότε γὰρ φησιν E
 καὶ τότε P || 285 κυκλάδας: κοιλάδας P εἰσιν ὡς: φησιν ὡς (sic) BO om. D ||
 286–89 Ἡλιοῦ (*Ἡλίας P)... συνήσουσι: παραγίνονται (-εται K) δὲ τότε Ἐνώχ ὁ πρὸ
 τοῦ νόμου καὶ Ἡλίας ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ χάριτι κηρύττει ἐν ὅλῃ
 τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς συντελείας (βασιλείας K) καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλάνου ἐπιδημίαν.
 διελεύσονται δὲ ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν καὶ προκηρύξουσιν (-ωσιν C) τοῦ σωτήρος
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν δευτέραν ἔλευσιν. ὅσοι τοιγαροῦν θελήσουσι (-ωσιν C)
 τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτοὺς ἢ ἄλλως πως ἀδικῆσαι, πῦρ ἐξελθὼν καταφάγεται (κατακαύ-
 σεται C) αὐτούς. πορεύονται (-εται C) γὰρ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μεγάλη, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίχριστον
 ἐλέγξαντες ἀποκτανθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ῥίψουσι (-ωσιν C)
 τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἄταφα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπισυναχθέντες ἐπιγελάσονται
 (-ουσιν K) αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀπροστατεύτους. ποιήσουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας κείμενα τὰ
 ἅγια αὐτῶν σώματα ἡμέρας τρεῖς. μεσοῦσης δὲ τῆς τετάρτης καταπτῶσα περιστέρα
 ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς εἶδος ἀστραπῆς ἐπάνω αὐτῶν περιπατήσασα ζωὴν ἐμπνεύσει
 αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἰσχύσαντες ἐγερθήσονται ἐνώπιον πάντων καὶ τρόμος λήψεται τοὺς
 ὀρώντας αὐτούς. τότε γενήσεται (ἐγερθήσεται K) φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 λέγουσα· ἀνέλθατε πρὸς με οἱ φίλοι μου. καὶ εὐθέως κατελθοῦσα νεφέλη ἀρεῖ (ἄρη C)
 αὐτοὺς καὶ κατασκηνώσει αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον CK, cf. Apoc. Ioh. 11,3–12

- 869 C ἐξελθόντων | καὶ προκηρυξάντων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποπλάνησιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δευτέραν ἔλευσιν ὀλίγοι πιστεύσουσι καὶ συνήσουσι. Πικρῶς δὲ ταπεινώσει τοὺς τότε χριστιανούς, μέχρι τῆς
- 290 ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς θλίβων καὶ ὀλεννύνων αὐτοὺς ὁ μάταιος ἄγαν. Τότε εἴ τις οὐ πλανηθῇ μέγας καὶ φοβερός φίλος Χριστοῦ φανήσεται· μακάριοι γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, ἀλλὰ γε πλείω οἱ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀντι-χρίστου μαρτυρῆσαι μέλλοντες, μακάριοι καὶ τρισμακάριοι· μεγίστη γὰρ δόξα αὐτοὺς διαδέξεται εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας. Πρῶτον δὲ μέλλει
- 295 ἀποκτείνειν τὸν Ἥλιαν, εἶτα τὸν Ἐνῶχ, καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς βροντῆς υἱόν, καὶ τότε τοὺς μὴ πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν θανάτῳ πικρῷ ἀφανίσει. Τότε ἔσται μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ | καὶ τοῦ δεσπότης πόλεμος φοβερός· ἐπὶ γὰρ γνώσῃ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔχειν, μανίαν δεινὴν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀντιπράξῃται, ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν καὶ κτύπους ποιῶν, ὥστε τῷ ἤχῳ τῆς
- 300 βοῆς τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν δονεῖσθαι καὶ περιηχεῖσθαι φοβερῶς· καὶ τίς τότε οὐ θαμβηθήσεται καὶ πτήξει, τέκνον γλυκύτατον; Μακάριοι τότε οἵτινες οὐ σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν τῷ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ ἁληθινῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, μακάριοι τότε οἵτινες οὐκ ἀποσχοινίσουσιν <ἑαυτοὺς> ἐκ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας, μακάριοι
- 305 οἱ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ ἀποθάνουσι καὶ ἐλέγξουσιν κατὰ πρόσωπον τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποπλάνησιν, μακάριοι ὅσοι κατὰ τοῦ δράκοντος ἀνδρυνθήσονται καὶ γενναίως τὰ δεινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐλέγξουσιν, οἱ φωστῆρες οἱ ὥραῖοι, οἱ φίλτατοι | μαργαρίται, αἱ καρδίαι αἱ γλυκεῖαι καὶ τερπναὶ καὶ μελίρρυτοι, καὶ ὅσοι εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον
- 872 B πνεῦμα, εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα τὴν ζωοποιὸν πιστεύουσιν.”
- 310

287 ἐξελθόντων (-ότων P) καὶ om. E καὶ τήν: τήν τε D τὴν δὲ P τήν E || 288 Χριστοῦ om. DEP δευτέραν ante τὴν τοῦ κυρίου tr. E post ἔλευσιν add. διαφημισάντων P || 288-89 ὀλίγοι ... συνήσουσι om. DEP || 290 ante ἀναπνοῆς add. αὐτῶν DEP ὀλεννύνων: ὀλαινύνων E ὀλένων DP δεινῶς τιμωρούμενος CK || 291 εἴ τις: ὅστις P φανήσεται: ἀποφανθεῖ D ἀποφανθῇ E || 292 πλείων EP αὐτοῦ om. D || 293 μαρτυρῆσαι μέλλοντες: μαρτυρήσαντες (φημι add. E) ἢ οἱ μέλλοντες μαρτυρεῖν DE μαρτυρήσαντες: οὗτοι γὰρ P post μακάριοι add. γὰρ E post τρισμακάριοι add. ἔσονται P || 294 διαδέξεται DE διαδέχεται P δε: γὰρ DEP || 294-95 μέλλει ἀποκτείνειν: μέλλουσι ἀποκτείνειν BO ἀποκτείνει DEP || 295 τὸν Ἥλιαν: Ἥλιαν EP τὸν Ἐνῶχ: Ἐνῶχ E καὶ οὕτως: μετέπειτα DEP || 296 εἰς αὐτόν: αὐτῷ EP om. Y ἀφανίσει: παραδώσει D || 297 post δεσπότης add. Χριστοῦ DE || 298 γὰρ om. βDP πρὸς τὸ τέλος ECK: πρὸ τέλους βDP ἔχειν: τὸν κόσμον add. K τοῦ κόσμου τούτου τὰ πράγματα add. C (nonne ἐγγίλειν scribendum?) μανίαν δεινὴν (cf. 138) CK: μανίαν δεινὴν βDEP (μανίαν ante ἔχειν tr. β, μανίαν δεινὴν ante ἔχειν tr. D) πρὸς οὐρανόν: καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν β om. P ἀντιπράξῃται: ἀντιπαρτάξῃται E ἀντιπαρτάσσεται CK om. P || 299-300 τῷ ... βοῆς: ἡχος βροντῆς P || 300 δονεῖσθαι (δονῆσαι D) ... φοβερῶς: ἡχεῖν καὶ δονεῖσθαι P || 301 θαμβηθήσεται: θαμβηθῇ β θαμβήσεται, quod post πτήξει καὶ (sic) tr., E post τέκνον add. μου P || 301-3 μακάριοι ... θεῷ ἡμῶν om. β || 302 ἐν: ἐπὶ EP Ἰησοῦ om. D || 303 ἡμῶν om. E post μακάριοι add. οὖν β || 304 ἑαυτοὺς addidi ἐκ τοῦ γεννηθέντος: τὸν γεννηθέντα D ἁγίας: ὑπεραγίας BO παρθένου: θεοτόκου BOP || 305 οἱ: οἵτινες DY ὅσοι P ἀποθανοῦσι D ἀποθάνωσι E ἐλέγξωσι E || 306 τοῦ: τοῦ αὐτοῦ E || 307 ἐλέγξωσι E ἀπελέγξωσι P || 308 ante μαργαρίται add. μάρτυρες καὶ P || 309 καὶ ante ὅσοι om. E καὶ ante υἱὸν om. E || 310 καὶ om. EP τριάδα τὴν ζωοποιὸν: καὶ ζωοποιὸν τριάδα E || 310-11 post πιστεύουσιν (πιστεύουσι OY πιστεύσωσιν D) add. ὅσοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πιστεύουσιν γενέσθαι ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ χαρὰν ἀτελεύτητον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν: τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς E

- Ταῦτα τοῦ μακαρίου καθεζομένου καὶ λέγοντος, Ἐπιφανίου δὲ ἀκούοντος τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθρήνη ἐκ βαθέων στενάζων· καὶ γάρ, καθὼς πολλάκις εἴρηται, ἄγαν συμπαθὴς ἐχρη-
 315 μάτιζεν. Εἶτα λέγει πρὸς τὸν ὄσιον· “Δέομαί σου, εἰπέ μοι, πῶς μέλλει ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπαλειφθῆναι ἡ ἀνθρωπότης καὶ οὕτω γενέσθαι ἡ ἀνάστασις;” Ἔφη ὁ ὄσιος· “Τοὺς μὲν τὰ μυσσὰρὰ ἔθνη μέλλουσιν ἀναλῶσαι, τοὺς δὲ | ἐν τοῖς πυκνοτάτοις πολέμοις θανατώσουσιν, τοὺς ὑπολοίπους δὲ πιστοὺς ὁ Ἀντίχριστος διὰ κύριον ἀναλώσει. Ὅσοι δὲ
 872 C τῷ Ἀντιχρίστῳ πιστεύουσιν ἀποστελεῖ κύριος ὁ θεὸς θηρία, πετόμενα κατὰ τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ, ἔχοντα ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν βούκεντρα ἰοῦ με-
 320 μεστωμένα, καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ ἔξουσιν τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶον καὶ ἀκέραιον ἐν τοῖς μετώποις αὐτῶν, ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν θηρίων κεντρούμενοι καὶ ἰῶ χαλεπῶ ὀλεννύμενοι θανάτῳ πικρῶ τε-
 325 λευτήσουσιν. Τότε εἴ τις τῶν ἀγίων ἐν ἐρημίαις λαθὼν τὸν Ἀντίχριστον εὑρεθήσεται, ἅπαντας ὁ κύριος πνεύματι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει Σιών ἀθροίσει· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν.
- 872 D Τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἤδη παταχθέντος καὶ | σὺν τοῖς δαίμοσιν αὐτοῦ συλληφθέντος καὶ ὑπὸ πυρίνων ἀγγέλων δεσμευθέντος καὶ φυλασσομέ-
 330 νου τῷ κριτηρίῳ παρίστασθαι καὶ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι δίκας περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὧν ἀπώλεσεν, τότε οὖν ἡ σάλπιγξ ἡχήσει καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἀναστήσονται ἄφθαρτοι. Ἐπειτα οἱ ζῶντες, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος, εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οἱ περιλειφθέντες, ἀλλαγέντες ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀπὸ φθορᾶς
 873 A εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἅμα σὺν αὐτοῖς | ἀρπαγῇσονται ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν
 335 τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἄερα. Ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃ τις τὰ βδελυρὰ ἔθνη εἰσεληλυθότα εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὧ τέκνον, τότε γινώσκέτω ὅτι ἐπὶ θύραις πάντα καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὁ κριτὴς ἐπελεύσεται.”
- Ταῦτα πάντα ἐλάλησεν ὁ μακάριος τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἀγρυπνούντων αὐτῶν, παρουσίας καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινότητος. Τοῦ δὲ
 340 ξύλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας κρούσαντος ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἐπιφάνιος ἐκεῖσε, ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν προσήυχετο.

312 καθεζομένου καὶ om. P || 312–13 Ἐπιφανίου δὲ ἀκούοντος: Ἐπιφάνιος ἀκούων E || 313 γενέσθαι DE || 314 στενάζων: στεναγμῶν βDP (malim στεναγμούς ἀναπέμπων, cf. 873 B) καὶ ... καθὼς: καθὼς γὰρ P καθὼς ὡς E καθὼς D || 315 post εἶτα add. πάλιν E || 316–17 καὶ ... ἀνάστασις om. P || 316 οὕτως DE γενέσθαι: γενήσεται E || 317 μυσσὰρ: μωρὰ β μέλλουσιν: θέλουσιν DE || 318 πυκνοτάτοις: πικροτάτοις P πυκτοτάτοις (sic) E ante πολέμοις add. τόποις καὶ D || 319 δὲ: ante ὑπολοίπους tr. DP om. E πιστοὺς ὁ Ἀντίχριστος: ὁ Ἀντίχριστος τοὺς πιστοὺς E διὰ κύριον (cf. 160): ἐν κυρίῳ DP τῷ κυρίῳ E || 320 πιστεύουσιν DEP || 321 κατὰ τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ om. P || 322 οὐκ βDP ἔξουσιν OYD ἔχουσιν P σφραγίδος: γραφίδος D || 323 ὑπ’ αὐτῶν: ὑπὸ πάντων P om. D || 324 κεντρούμενοι: κεντούμενοι D καὶ om. E χαλεπῶ ὀλεννύμενοι: χαλεπῶ ὠλαινόμενοι P χαλεπῶ ὀλισκόμενοι CK χαλεπαινόμενοι D || 324–25 τελευτήσουσιν EP || 325 εἴ τις: εἰς P εἰ (lege ol) E ἐν ἐρημίαις post εὑρεθήσεται tr. D λαθόντες E τῷ Ἀντιχρίστῳ DEP || 326 post εὑρεθήσεται (-ονται E) add. καὶ DEP post ἅπαντας add. αὐτοὺς E || 327 ἀθροίσει: ἀθροίζει D συναθροίσει P ἐναθροίσονται E om. Y || 328 ἤδη: δὲ ἤδη D ἤδη δὲ P παταχθέντος: ταχθέντος β καὶ om. BO || 331 ἡχήσει: μέγα add. P καὶ σαλπίζει add. E || 332 εἶπεν: ἔφη BO ante Παῦλος add. μακάριος BO || 335 εἰσεληλυθότα: ἐληλυθότα post κόσμον D ἐξεληλυθότα post κόσμον E || 336 ὧ om. DP post τέκνον add. μου E γινώσκέτω: γινώσκεται β γίνωσκε E γνωστὸν ἔσται P || 338 πάντα om. DEP τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ: post ἐκείνῃ tr. D om. P || 339 ἀγρυπνοῦντες P αὐτῶν om. EP παρούσης om. D

TRANSLATION

PG, 111, col. 852 C–853 A Once when Epiphanius and the blessed Andreas had an opportunity, Epiphanius took him to || his house so that they could spend at least the following week at ease. As they sat alone Epiphanius began to ask the blessed man:⁴ “Please, tell me how this world will come to an end and when, and what ‘the beginning of the birth pangs’⁵ is and how men will know that it is ‘near, at the very gates.’⁶ By what signs will the coming of the end be proved? How will this our city, the New Jerusalem, pass away? What will become of the holy churches which are here, and the crosses and the precious icons and the books and the relics of the saints? Please, explain it to me, for I know that it was about you and men like you that the Son of God said: ‘To you it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven,’⁷ how much more then to know those of the world?”

853 B The blessed man answered, “About our city you shall know: Until the end she will fear no nation whatsoever, for no one will entrap or capture her, not by any means, for she has been given to the Mother of God and no one will snatch her out of her hands. Many nations will break their horns against her walls and withdraw with shame, receiving from her gifts and great wealth.⁸

“Let me also tell you about the ‘beginning of the birth pangs’ and about the end of the world and the rest. In the last days the Lord

⁴ According to ECK, Epiphanius begins the conversation by asking about topics such as the stars and the changes of weather conditions. In E the beginning of the passage seems to be extremely corrupt, but then E goes on: “. . . and about angels and archangels: how one rank is higher than the other, and what the substance of the light is, and that the sun is perceptible fire, and what nature the clouds and the air have, and in a word, you cannot tell it all because of the length of the conversation. But, passing over most of it, I will relate a few things that were discussed between them.” The explanation of the sun as πῦρ αἰσθητόν points forward to 884 C, where ECK have a chapter on the sun in which it is described as πῦρ ξυλόν.

⁵ Matt. 24:8, par.

⁶ Matt. 24:33, par.

⁷ Matt. 13:11.

⁸ I am not certain as to the meaning of παρ’αὐτῆς. Does it mean “from the City” or “from the Mother of God”? Nor is it clear to me who will receive gifts and great wealth, the inhabitants of the City (according to DM) or the withdrawing enemies (according to EYP). A few words may have dropped out here, or there may have been some other corruption. For the whole passage “About our city . . . gifts and great wealth” the MSS CK have the following: “This city, the metropolis of many nations and cities, will remain impregnable and unconquered by the pagans until the end. For the Mother of God is protecting her with her own wings and through her intercessions she will be kept intact. Certain nations will attack her walls, but they will break their bows and retire with shame. Nations will become rich from her and enjoy her pleasures. There is a prophecy saying that the nation of the Hagarenes will enter the city and kill a great number of people with their swords. But I say that the fair-haired race will also enter here, whose name begins with the seventeenth letter of the whole number of the twenty-four letters. They will come in and strew the ground with the dead bodies of the sinners, but woe will befall them from the two scions (? ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ὀρπίκων *vel* ὀρπίγγων), whose swords are like the wind (? ὡν αἱ ῥομφαῖαι αὖρα) and like a sharp sickle cutting wheat in summer. For they will not return whence they came nor will they be left behind here.” To this, a late hand in K adds in the margin: This seventeenth letter which is mentioned here is the rho and refers to the Rus (ῥός) or the Rusoi (ῥούσους), also called the fair-haired race, who will come in and slay the sons of Hagar “with the edge of the sword” (Exod. 17:13 etc.).

- God will raise up an emperor from poverty.⁹ He will walk in great righteousness and bring every war to an end and make the poor rich, and the years [?] will be as in the time of Noah.¹⁰ However, this
- 853 C comparison has been made, not with regard to the | wickedness of those men, but regarding their rest from tribulation. For in his days men will be very rich and in deep peace they will be 'eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage,'¹¹ and without fear of war and in freedom from anxiety they will devote themselves to husbandry [?]. As there will be no war, they will beat the blades of their swords into sickles, and their spearshafts and spears they will make into farming implements, with which the ground is tilled.¹² |
- 856 A Thereupon he will turn his face toward the east and humble the sons of Hagar. For the Lord will be angry with them because of their blasphemy and because their fruit is of Sodom's gall and Gomorrah's bitterness. Therefore, he will strike the emperor of the Romans and rouse him against them and he will destroy them and kill their children with fire, and those who have been given into his hands will be handed over to violent torment.¹³ The whole of Illyricum will be restored to the Roman Empire. Also Egypt will pay her tribute. He will put his right hand on the sea and tame the fair-haired peoples and subdue his enemies. His scepter will rule for thirty-two years.
- 856 B In the twelfth | year of his reign he will collect no taxes and receive no gifts. Instead he will raise up holy churches and rebuild destroyed altars. There will be no more trials, nor any wrongdoer or victim of wrong. Through fear he will make the sons of men learn moderation, and those of the grandees who transgress the law he will humble and deliver up to death. In those days all gold, wherever it is hidden, will be revealed before his majesty at the instigation of God, and with a shovel¹⁴ he will spread it over his people, and his grandees will be rich and become like kings and the poor will become like rulers. He will have great zeal and pursue the Jews, and in this city
- 856 C you will find no Ishmaelite. | He will keep the city in tight bonds [?] and there will be none who plays the lyre or the cithara or sings

⁹ Cf. the revised Second Vision of Daniel, ed. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), 45 φορῶν πενιχρά, = E. Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig, 1895, 118, 65, and V. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago i apokrificheskiiia vidieniia Daniila v Vizantiiskoi i Slaviano-russko literaturakh; izoliedovanie i teksty* (Moscow, 1897), Text, 137, 12.

¹⁰ Cf. Matt. 24:37; Luke 17:26.

¹¹ Matt. 24:38.

¹² Cf. Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3.

¹³ C. Janning writes ἐμπρησμός βίαισιν, "violentissimis flammis," but one expects a word with a sense less close to that of πῦρ, which has just been mentioned. The original probably had πρισμός, "sawing," i.e., "gnashing of teeth," "torment." The closest parallel in the Life of AS is 800 A (text of PG) πολλοὶ οὖν μετὰ χαρᾶς πορνέουσιν . . . καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν ποῖος ἐμπρησμός τοῦ θανάτου καὶ θλίψις καὶ ὁδὴν αὐτοὺς περιμένει, καὶ πικρία, καὶ φρίκη, καὶ συντριμμός. Ἐμπρησμός is the reading of D and the variants are πρισμός β E and θερσμός P. Also in this case the sense "gnashing of teeth," "torment" seems to fit the context better than "burning."

¹⁴ For πτύω, cf. Matt. 3:12, par.

songs or commits a shameful act,¹⁵ for all such people he will hate and obliterate from the city of the Lord. There will be great joy then and gladness. Good things will come up from the earth, and from the sea riches will rise.¹⁶ It will be as when in the days of Noah men enjoyed themselves in peace until the flood came.

- 856 D “When this scepter has passed away ‘the beginning of the birth pangs’ will rise. A short-lived [?] son of lawlessness¹⁷ will appear and reign in this city for three and a half years.¹⁸ | He will cause lawlessness to be committed such as has not been committed since the beginning of the world, no, and never will be again. For he will sit down and impose decrees, such as that father shall have intercourse with daughter and son with mother and brother with sister. If he refuses, he who rebels will die, and such a man will be ranked with
- 857 A John the Forerunner on the | day of judgment. He will join the nuns with monks in marriage and likewise with priests, and the lawlessness of the intercourse will be worse than murder. He himself will prostitute his mother and daughter.¹⁹ In those days, because of the accursed licentiousness, they will get permission, these fools, to neigh lecherously²⁰ for their own sisters. The ‘stench and foul smell’²¹ will rise as an abomination before God, and the Lord God will be filled with bitter wrath and in great anger look down upon the whole earth. He will command his thunder and lightnings in heaven, and they will begin to descend upon the earth with violence and great
- 857 B terror. Many | cities will be burned in flames, and from the crash of these fearful thunders the men will be paralyzed by great terror and die miserably, and many will be consumed by the lightning. Woe then to the earth because of the threats of the Almighty and his boundless anger and wrath which is already coming on the whole world.²² But this scepter will be smitten and thrown into the ‘unquenchable fire.’²³ After those days blessed are those who live in Rome or Riza or in Armenopetra or in Strobilos or in Karioupolis, for in these cities

¹⁵ Cf. *Leges Homeritarum*, PG, 86,1, col. 600f.

¹⁶ Cf. *Oracula Sibyllina*, III, 659f.; the revised Second Vision of Daniel, Vassiliev ed., 46 (Klostermann, 118; Istrin, 137).

¹⁷ Cf. II Thess. 2:3.

¹⁸ Cf. Dan. 7:25; 12:7; Rev. 12:14.

¹⁹ One would expect καὶ αὐτὸς πορνεύσει μετὰ μητρὸς καὶ θυγατρὸς, “and he himself will fornicate with his mother and daughter.”

²⁰ Like lusty stallions, cf. Jer. 5:8.

²¹ Joel 2:20.

²² CK add the following: “For there will be famine on earth so that men will die from hunger and the survivors will be too few [?] to bury the dead [the last part of the sentence is missing in K]. Then there will be a great earthquake so that every building will fall and many evildoers will be buried under the ruins and die miserably. The sun will turn black and dark and the moon will become like blood [cf. Joel 2:31 = LXX, Joel 3:4] because of men’s swinishness, and the stars will fall to the ground. Every mountain and every island will move away from the place where it is seated from fear of the earthquake and the threat. Then the priests of God together with the remaining virtuous and temperate will flee to the mountains, the caverns, and the clefts of the cliffs” (cf. Isa. 2:21).

²³ Matt. 3:12, par.

and places they will have rest. Everywhere else there will be wars and tumults, and there will be great confusion according to him who said that 'you will hear of wars and rumors of wars,'²⁴ and so forth.

- 857 C "Thereupon another reign will rise against this city, and this ruler will be a grim-looking ass[?] and deny Jesus Christ and, reading the writings of the pagans, he will convert himself to paganism and like the devil wage war against the saints through the influence of Satan. A few days after he has begun to reign he will burn down the churches and call the precious and life-giving cross a gibbet and cause the clergy to fall and cut down ordinary people[?]²⁵ in the public | streets. Then friends will give up friends to death and brothers brothers and neighbors neighbors and a father his son and a son his father.²⁶ Many will confess their faith from zeal for God, and their end will be blessed, for they will reign together with Christ. Then the islands and the valleys from Thrace and downward will become desolate, turning to nests of demons and dens of beasts and serpents. At that time there will be terrible thunders in heaven and great earthquakes²⁷ and the collapse of great cities. 'For nation will rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom'²⁸ and there will be a terrible misery upon earth and 'tribulation and distress'²⁹ for the sons of men. Then there will appear a fire from | heaven as quickly as a flash of lightning menacingly overshadowing the entire face of the earth. There will be frequent afflictions from birds and the earth will become filled with poisonous snakes biting men who reverence transgressions[?]. All this constitutes the 'beginning of the birth pangs.'³⁰
- 860 B

"After also this ungodly scepter has come to an end, then the emperor of Ethiopia from the first horn³¹ will come, who, they say, will hold the helm of the Empire for twelve years. He will be a good ruler and reign in peace and restore churches of saints ruined before

²⁴ Mark. 13:7.

²⁵ It is tempting to read κατακοπήν λαοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μέσεως ποιήσει καὶ κατὰ τὰς δημοσίας στράτας, "he will cut down people in the Mese and in the (other) public streets."

²⁶ Cf. Matt. 10:21; Mark 13:12.

²⁷ Luke 21:11.

²⁸ Matt. 24:7.

²⁹ Rom. 2:9.

³⁰ CK add the following: "For in those days the Lord will send his holy angels who are in charge of the winds to take them out of their stores and block up their breath, so that no wind at all will blow in the whole world, so that there will be intense warmth and boiling and burning heat upon the face of the whole earth, so that in their distress men will turn and repent their sins. The great ships, not being able to sail the sea without wind, distressed by the constraint, will blaspheme against the Lord our God. Then everything green, I mean every plant on earth and the highest trees [C: Then every tree] will wither away, 'and every mountain and hill shall be brought low' [Isa. 40:4], and one third of the animals, both of cattle and birds, of reptiles and wild beasts will die. The sea will become like blood. And immediately one-third of the fish will die, for God will be angry with them because of the sins of men and their impenitence. For because of their great wickedness men will hate each other, not wanting to look at themselves or amend their ways and turn to 'better things that belong to salvation' [Heb. 6:9; 'not wanting ... salvation' is missing in C] but [and C] 'because the wickedness is multiplied,' as the Lord said, 'men's love will grow cold'" (Matt. 24:12).

³¹ Cf. Dan. 8:8ff.

him, and because of his goodness he will be loved by the people.
 860 C During his reign the love of the Lord will spread | over the whole
 world, and there will be joy and gladness.

“But also this scepter will pass away and there will come another
 scepter from Arabia who will reign one year, as they say. During his
 reign the holy pieces of the precious and life-giving wood of the cross
 will be united together at the instigation of the invisible God and
 given to the emperor. He will go to Jerusalem, to a place where the
 feet of Jesus Christ the true God stood and there he will, with his
 own hands, dedicate the precious wood of the cross and the imperial
 diadem. Together with these he will also surrender to the Lord God
 his soul.³²

“Then there will arise in this city three young men, shameless,
 foolish, and good-for-nothing, who will reign in peace for 150 days. |
 860 D Thereupon, at the instigation of the devil, they will become angry
 861 A with each other and wage a violent war among themselves. | The first
 will stand up and go to Thessalonica and say to her: ‘Thessalonica,
 you will conquer your enemies, for you are the pride of the saints,
 and the Most High has consecrated you.’ Then he shall enroll her
 people from seven years of age and upward, and the priests and
 the monks he will equip with weapons of war. He will build large
 ships and go to Rome and stand before her gate and say to her: ‘Hail,
 Rome of three streets, your sword is sharp, your arrows are numerous,
 you are honored: hold fast to your faith so that you might not lose
 it, for blessed are those who live in you.’ Then he will enroll the
 fair-haired peoples and build ships and enter between Delos and
 Adelos³³ and wait for his fellow rulers.

861 B “The second young man also will enlist an army [?], from Meso-
 potamia, the ‘Cyclades of the islands’ [?] and enroll the priests
 and the monks in terrible anger against the others. He will stand
 up and go to the navel of creation (some say to Alexandria) and
 there he will wait for his fellow rulers, with whom he will go to law,
 raging with anger.

³² The section on the emperor from Arabia according to CK: “After him [i.e., the emperor from Ethiopia] the emperor from Arabia will come and reign for one full year. In his days those who have a portion of the precious wood of the cross will open their reliquaries and find them empty. For at the instigation of Almighty God, the holy pieces of the cross will be united and it will become whole and perfect, as when Christ our God was nailed to it and will be given to the emperor. He will take it and go to the city of Jerusalem, and when he has come to Calvary, he will with his own hands surrender the precious cross and, having put on the top of the cross the diadem that is on his head, he will lift up the cross and say: ‘Lord Jesus Christ, the number and sum of years you have set aside for the empire of the Romans has been fulfilled: receive your famous and wonderful spear and with it also my spirit.’ Immediately an angel of the Lord will fly down from heaven and take the precious cross together with the diadem and the soul of the emperor. Then the empire of the Romans will pass away, for the precious cross is the empire of the Christians. Blessed are those who have fled from this city and gone away to deserts and mountains [v. l. caverns] and the caves of the earth.” For the delivering of the Empire to God as a sign of the end, cf. I Cor. 15:24.

³³ Cf. *Oracula Sibyllina*, III, 363, ἐσεῖται Δῆλος ἄδελος.

“The third will also march out and enroll Phrygia, Karia, Galatia, and Asia and Armenia and Arabia and come to Syliaion and say: ‘Syliaion will be called and never be seized nor captured.’ After these words he too will go to an unallied [?] people, i.e., one which is not under his or his fellow-rulers’ sway.

- 861 C “Having assembled opposite each other they will fight a violent and terrible battle and tear each other limb from limb like sheep in the meat market. The three kings will be killed, and through the slaughter the blood of the Romans will flow like pouring rain, and not one of them will be left. The sea on this spot will be red from their blood at a distance of twelve stades. Then every woman will be widow, so that seven women will try to get one man,³⁴ but not find any until foreigners learn of it and come from abroad. The young boys who have been saved will reach manhood before their time and, without noticing it, become like swine from much lechery. Then those will be blessed and thrice-blessed who serve God ‘on mountains | and in caves,’³⁵ for they will not see the evils done in public
861 D
864 A but in isolation | wait for the great mercy at the very gates, the most sweet sheep who will be sacrificed for the sake of Christ by the evil demon Antichrist.

- “As there is no man of importance, but all are depraved,³⁶ there will arise a woman from Pontus, wicked . . .,³⁷ who will reign in this city. She will be full of Bacchic frenzy, a daughter of the devil, a sorceress, mad after men and women alike. In her days there will be mutual plotting and slaughter in public and in private. A son will kill his father and a father his son and a mother her daughter and a daughter her mother and a brother his brother and a friend
864 B his friend.³⁸ | There will be much vice and hatred in this city, and within the holy churches there will be licentiousness and profligacy and incest and cithara-playing and dancing and Satanical songs and mockery and ridiculing jests of a kind that no man has seen nor will be able to see until that time. For this unclean empress, who claims to be a goddess and fights with God and wants to wrestle with Him, will defile the holy altars with filth and with all the defilement of her harlotry she will defile the whole people. She will turn her face toward evil and rob the church of every vessel and
864 C gather together the precious pictures | of the saints and the precious crosses and the holy gospels and every writing of the apostles and every written book^{38a} and make a huge pile and set fire to it and burn it all to ashes. She will overturn the churches and search for the relics of saints in order to obliterate them, but she will not find

³⁴ Cf. Isa. 4:1.

³⁵ Heb. 11:38.

³⁶ For τῆς ἀπωλείας, cf. II Thess. 2:3, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, “the son of perdition” (i.e., Antichrist).

³⁷ The word μόνδιον is still unexplained.

³⁸ Cf. Matt. 10:21, par.

^{38a} I.e., it seems, every book of the OT.

them because God by his unseen power has removed them from this city. Then the wretched woman will overturn the altar of the Great Church of God's Wisdom, and when she has destroyed the whole church she will insolently turn eastward and say to the Most High: 'You whom they call God, did I hesitate to wipe out your name from the earth? You impotent God, see what I have done and you could not even touch a hair of my head! Only wait a bit and I will
 864 D let down the firmament and go up there | and see who is the more powerful of us and discover who has strength among gods and goddesses!' This and even more she will say and do, this gangrene, spitting and throwing stones towards the sky. But I refrain from telling her worst deeds.

"At that time the Lord God the Almighty will bend³⁹ the bow of his violent wrath and with the terrifying power of his strength stretch out his hand against this city and seize it with great force. With his mighty sickle he will cut away the soil under the city and tell the waters which have carried her of old to swallow her, and with terrifying obedience they will gush forth with great speed and with a
 865 A terrible roar. He will pull up her foundation | from the earth and lift her on high like a whirling millstone,⁴⁰ so that those who are in the city will feel great fear and cry, 'Woe!' Then she will quickly be brought down again and the waters as they gush forth will irresistibly deluge her and cover her and surrender her to the terrifying and immense sea of the abyss. Such, my son Epiphanius, will be the end of our city, and the terrors which I have now said will come upon the world are those which our Lord Jesus Christ said are 'the beginning of the birth pangs.'

865 B "Then, after the passing away of the city, the events of the end will begin. Some people say that after the fulfillment of the reign of the gentiles God will see to it that the divine tribes of Israel will arise to reign until the completion of the seventh age, adducing as proof the saying of Isaiah: 'It shall come to pass in the latter days, when the number of the gentiles has been completed [?], that the Lord God will raise an ensign for the sheep which have been dispersed among the gentiles and gather the lost sons of Israel in the holy city of Jerusalem, and it will be for Israel as when they left the land of Egypt,'⁴¹ and the saying of the blessed Paul: 'When the full number
 865 C of the gentiles come, then all Israel will be saved.'⁴² Now, | these authors agree in this opinion, but the martyr Hippolytus said that when Antichrist comes the Jews will be deceived first,⁴³ and his

³⁹ For κλινεῖ, cf. II Sam. 22:10, καὶ ἐκλινεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη.

⁴⁰ Cf. Jer. 28 (51):42 and 63f.; Rev. 18:21; Pseudo-Methodius, *rec. tertia*, ed. Istrin, 64, 2f.

⁴¹ Isa. 11:12 and 16.

⁴² Rom. 11:25f.

⁴³ The passage referred to seems to be Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi*, ed. H. Achelis in: *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, I (Leipzig, 1897), 298, 20ff.

- word is confirmed by Christ who said to the Jews: 'I have come in my Father's name, and you do not receive me; another will come in his own name, and him you will receive.'⁴⁴ It is clear that God will gather them in the city of Jerusalem and return to them what is theirs in order to remove once for all the [false?] excuse they find in their dispersal, for if he did not do that, they would say in the judgment: 'If you had gathered us in Jerusalem and restored to us what belongs to us, we would long ago have believed in Christ, destroying the pretext for envy that the gentiles are preferred to us.' | But now when they have been gathered and have received what belongs to them and still remain in the same disbelief, how can they be saved, when Antichrist immediately will come out amidst them?⁴⁵ They will believe in him, according to the fearful voice of the Son of God.⁴⁶ For God the Only who said, 'I am the truth'⁴⁷ does not lie. By gathering them together for a while he will in the first place deprive them of this defense. For Paul said that they will be saved | not from the eternal punishment, but from so many years' wandering about in foreign lands and from the abuse of the gentiles and their untold shame. After living in such distress and in such ridicule, a laughingstock among the gentiles for so many years, they will be saved from their slavery and their yoke as they are gathered together in their native city, but not, as I have already said, from the eternal punishment. For those who were not persuaded by the tribulation to believe in the life-giving and only-begotten Son of God, how shall they be persuaded by the so-called joy?⁴⁸ And so forth."
- 868 B Epiphanius said, "Please, leave that, dear Father, and explain to me the following: Some people say that the Great Church of God will not be submerged with the city but will be suspended in the air by an invisible power." The righteous man said, "What are you saying, my son? When the whole city sinks into the sea, how can the Great Church remain? Who will need her? Do you think God dwells in temples made with hands?⁴⁹ However, what they say is not false, but it is only the column in the forum that will remain, because it has the precious nails.⁵⁰ Only this will remain and be saved, so that the ships will come and tie up their ropes to it and [the merchants will] weep for and lament this Babylon, saying, 'Woe to us! Our great city, in which our business prospered, has disappeared into the depths of the sea!'⁵¹

⁴⁴ John 5:43.

⁴⁵ Antichrist will rise from the tribe of Dan; see 869 B.

⁴⁶ John 5:43, quoted *supra*.

⁴⁷ John 14:6.

⁴⁸ Cf. Matt. 25:21 and 23.

⁴⁹ Cf. Acts 7:48 and 17:24.

⁵⁰ Cf. 837 C.

⁵¹ Cf. Rev. 18:9–19; Ezek. 27.

- 868 C “The mourning for her will last forty days. After those days the Empire will be given to Rome and Sylaion and Thessalonica, when the end is already approaching. From now on the government will become weak and the situation terrible and dangerous. For this year the Lord God will open the gates in Indalia [?], which Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, had closed, and seventy-two kings will come out with their people, the so-called filthy nations, who are
- 868 D more disgusting than all defilement | and foul-smelling filth. They will spread over the whole earth under heaven, eating raw[?] human flesh and drinking blood, devouring with pleasure dogs
- 869 A and | rats and frogs and all sorts of filth. Woe to every part of the world where these will go! In those days let there be no Christian, oh Lord, if possible, but I know there will be. Then those days will be darkened as if weeping in the air because of the defilement which those foul nations will bring about. The sun will turn into blood when it sees the abominations vying with each other on the earth. The moon and all the stars will stop shining,⁵² for they will even eat the soil of the earth, they will turn the sanctuaries into houses of pots⁵³ and defile the precious vessels. Then let those who live in Asia flee⁵⁴ to the ‘Cyclades of the islands’ (for Asia will mourn for the islands and the islands for Asia). To them the peoples will not go, but they⁵⁵ will mourn for 660 days.
- 869 B “Then Satan Antichrist will rise from the tribe of Dan (not by his own power becoming a man, not by any means, but the Lord God will form for him an ugly and filthy vessel, that the words of the prophets might be fulfilled in him) and be loosed from the chains of Hades,⁵⁶ in which our Master Christ bound him when he descended there, and he will enter into the vessel that has been made for him. When he has been born as a human being and has reached manhood and become a king, he will begin to display his deceit, as John the Theologian says.⁵⁷ Then he will stir up war against the ‘Cyclades of the islands’; islands are, as Isaiah says,⁵⁸ the churches among the gentiles. When
- 869 C Elijah and Enoch and the Son of Thunder come out | and proclaim his deceit and the second coming of Jesus Christ, few will believe and understand.⁵⁹ Bitterly he will humble those who are Christians then,

⁵² On the sun, the moon, and the stars, cf. Isa. 13:10; Matt. 24:29; Acts 2:20; Rev. 6:12.

⁵³ Or, perhaps, “houses of filth,” as suggested in the apparatus.

⁵⁴ Cf. Matt. 24:16, par.

⁵⁵ I.e., those who are on the islands.

⁵⁶ Cf. Rev. 20:7.

⁵⁷ Cf. Rev. 20:7f.

⁵⁸ Isa. 41:1; 49:1.

⁵⁹ The longer version of CK: “Then Enoch, who was before the law [i.e., before Moses], and Elijah, who was in the law [i.e., after Moses but before Christ], and John, who was in the new grace [i.e., in the NT], will come and proclaim the time of the end and the arrival of the deceiver. They will go about performing signs and wonders and announce the second coming of our Savior Jesus Christ. If anyone tries to kill or otherwise injure them, a fire will appear and devour him. For they will walk in great authority. And having denounced Antichrist, they will be killed by him in the city of

to their last breath afflicting and hurting them beyond measure, the fool that he is. Then he who is not led astray will stand out as a great and mighty friend of Christ. For blessed are all the saints, but more blessed still are those who are going to witness during the reign of Antichrist himself. They are blessed and thrice-blessed, for the greatest glory will be theirs for everlasting eternity. First he will kill Elijah, then Enoch, and at last the Son of Thunder. Then he will annihilate in bitter death those who do not believe in him.

- 872 A Then there will be a terrible war between him | and the Master, for when he sees that the end is approaching [?] he will revolt against heaven in terrible anger, lightning and thundering and making violent sounds, so that from the reverberation of his shouting the earth under heaven will shake and echo fearfully. Who will not then be alarmed and fear, my dear son? At that time those will be blessed who do not take offense at our Master, Jesus Christ, our true God; those who do not cut themselves off from him who was born of the holy Virgin Mary; those who, because of love for him, are killed and rebuke the dragon and his deceit face to face; all those who meet the dragon courageously and denounce his crimes bravely, the
- 872 B beautiful lights of heaven, the dearest | pearls, the sweet, delightful, and honeyed hearts, and all those who believe in the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, in the holy, consubstantial, and life-giving Trinity.”

As the blessed man sat telling all this and Epiphanius heard what is going to happen in the world he wailed, sighing deeply, for he was, as I have often said, extremely sensitive. Then he said to the pious man: “Please, tell me, how will mankind be erased from the earth and then the resurrection take place?” The pious man answered, “Some will be annihilated by the filthy peoples, others |

872 C will be killed in the numerous wars, and the remaining faithful will be put to death by Antichrist for the sake of Christ. For those who believe in Antichrist the Lord God will send creatures, flying, as in the description of Ezekiel,⁶⁰ having ox-goads in their tails filled with poison,⁶¹ and those who do not have the sign of the seal of Christ whole and pure on their foreheads⁶² will be stung by these creatures and will succumb to dangerous poison and end their life in bitter death. Then, if anyone of the saints is found in the deserts, having escaped Antichrist, the Lord, through the spirit of his power, will

Jerusalem. Their bodies will be thrown in the middle of the city and people will gather around them and laugh at them as they have no protection. Their holy bodies will be lying in the street for three days. In the middle of the fourth day a dove will fly down from heaven and circling above them like a flash of lightning she will breathe life into them, and gathering strength they will arise in the presence of all, and trembling will come upon all who see them. Then there will be a voice from heaven saying to them: ‘Come up to me, my friends.’ Immediately a cloud will descend and take them and make them a dwelling in Paradise.” Cf. Rev. 11:3–12.

⁶⁰ Cf. Ezek. 1:5 ff.

⁶¹ Cf. Rev. 9:10.

⁶² Cf. Rev. 9:4.

gather them all in the holy city Zion. These are those who have been written in the book of life.⁶³

- 872 D “When Antichrist has already been smitten and | seized together with his demons and put in chains by angels of fire and is being kept under guard to stand before the court and pay retribution for the souls he has destroyed, the trumpet will sound and the dead will rise imperishable. Then those who are alive, as Paul said, who are left until the coming of the Lord, will be changed in the twinkling of an eye from perishability to imperishability | and together with these will be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.⁶⁴ Now, when you see that the foul nations have come into the world, my son, you should know that all is at the very gates and that the judge soon will follow.”⁶⁵

All this the blessed man told Epiphanius while they kept vigil that night; I too, humble man, was present. But when the church’s sounding board struck, Epiphanius went to church while the blessed man prayed at home alone.

COMMENTARY

- 853 A Epiphanius’ questions on the end of the world are seven in number: 1. How will it happen? 2. When will it happen? (5–10) 3. What is “the beginning of the birth pangs”? 4. How will men know that it is “near, at the very gates”? 5. What are the signs? 6. How will Constantinople pass away? 7. What will become of its churches, crosses, icons, books, and relics? Of these, no. 1 is answered in 868 Cff. and no. 2 in 865 B: “after the passing away of the city, the events of the end will begin.” The answer to question no. 3 is that the time from the second emperor to the disappearance of Constantinople will constitute the “beginning of the birth pangs”: 856 C, “when this [i.e., the first] scepter has passed away the ‘beginning of the birth pangs’ will rise” and, 865 A, “such will be the end of our city, and the terrors which I have now said will come upon the world are those which our Lord Jesus Christ said are the ‘beginning of the birth pangs’.” No. 4 is answered in 873 A: “When you (τῆς) see that the foul nations have come into the world you (τῆς) should know that all is at the very gates and that the judge soon will follow.” The answer to no. 5 is given throughout the

⁶³ Cf. Isa. 4:3; Rev. 20:15, par.

⁶⁴ Cf. I Cor. 15:51ff.; I Thess. 4:15–17.

⁶⁵ Cf. Matt. 24:33.

eschatological description. No. 6 is answered in 864 Df. and no. 7 in 864 Bf.

It is worth noting that Epiphanius does not ask about the fate of the Roman Empire as a whole, but only about that of the city of Constantinople itself, which he characteristically calls not New Rome but New Jerusalem.⁶⁶ His questions are not those of a man concerned about the actual political situation, but those of a man interested in eschatology in general and especially in the final destiny of the city where he lives and which he considers holy. Certainly, there are in the following answer of AS a number of other place-names as well, but these names seem either to reflect the eschatological tradition or, if used here for the first time, are of a very uncertain significance.

- 853 B (14–20) The concept of Rome as the eternal city was transferred to Constantinople, but not without changes, as it was incompatible with Christian doctrine, according to which nothing in this world will last forever. The Byzantines had to modify it and say that Constantinople will last, not forever, but to the end of the world.⁶⁷

It is instructive to compare what AS says on this topic with the corresponding passage in the Greek translation of Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 22ff.: ἡ γὰρ . . . βασιλεία αὕτη κέκτηται τὸ μέγα καὶ σεβάσμιον ξύλον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς παγέντος . . . ὡς γὰρ ἔφημεν, ἀγαπητοί, τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς γῆς ἐμπαγέντα ζωοποιῶ ὀχυρῶται σταυρῶ⁶⁸ . . . ποία γὰρ ἰσχύς ἢ δυναστεία ἰσχύσει πώποτε τὴν τοῦ σταυροῦ περιδράσασθαι δύναμιν; . . . πᾶσα γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐξουσία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου καταργηθήσεται ἄνευ ταύτης.⁶⁹ καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πολεμεῖται καὶ οὐκ (sic) ἡττᾶται. First, Pseudo-Methodius, writing in Mesopotamia in the seventh century,⁷⁰ speaks about the Roman Empire, whereas the main concern of

⁶⁶ In the Life of AS Rome means ancient Rome, whereas its successor is called Constantinople (629 D, 664 D), the Imperial city (ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις in 744 B etc.), the Queen of cities (ἡ βασίλισ τῶν πόλεων in 888 C etc.), the city of the Lord (856 C), New Jerusalem (853 A), and this Babylon (868 B). The name Byzantium appears only in the title of MS D in the rather peculiar formula τὸ Βυζάντιον τῆς θεοφυλάκτου πόλεως. As for "New Jerusalem," see A. Frolov, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *RHR*, 127 (1944), 61–127, esp. 86f. (add to Frolov's material the homilies of Photius), and for the names of Constantinople in general, see E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, ed. H.-G. Beck, IX (Munich, 1968).

⁶⁷ P. J. Alexander, "The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 343.

⁶⁸ One would prefer τῶ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐμπαγέντι ζωοποιῶ ὀχυρῶται σταυρῶ.

⁶⁹ I.e., τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας.

⁷⁰ The original was written in the Syriac language sometime between 644 and 678. The Greek translation was made in the seventh or early eighth century. See P. J. Alexander, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs. The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor," *MedHum*, N.S., 2 (1971), 55ff.

Nicephorus, the author of the *Life of AS*, writing in Constantinople three hundred years later, is the capital. Second, Pseudo-Methodius says that the Roman Empire possesses the cross that was planted in the middle of the earth, i.e., in Jerusalem, and that this is a guarantee that the Empire will last to the end of time. AS instead bases his assertion on the belief that Constantinople has been given to the Mother of God, by whom it will be protected. By the time Pseudo-Methodius wrote his prophecy Jerusalem had already been taken by the Arabs. According to Theophanes Confessor, the Emperor Heraclius had removed the cross from Jerusalem before the catastrophe and had brought it to Constantinople.⁷¹ It is not clear whether Pseudo-Methodius meant that the cross remained in Jerusalem or not. If he meant the former, his assertion that the Roman Empire has the true cross is a rather strange one, and, in that case, he must have regarded the Arab conquest as temporary, claiming that Jerusalem still belonged to the Romans. If he meant that it had been transferred to another place within the Empire he does not tell when and how it will be restored to Jerusalem before the last Roman emperor goes to Golgatha and puts his crown on the cross, thereby surrendering his power to God. In the *Life of AS*, on the other hand, there is no uncertainty in this respect. Here it is clear that Jerusalem no longer belongs to the Byzantine sphere. When AS says (861 B) about the third evil young ruler that he, too, will go to "an un-allied people, i.e., one which is not under his or his fellow-rulers' sway," this implies that Jerusalem, which has been alluded to just before, lies beyond Byzantine influence. That it is no longer the city where the true cross is located is an acknowledged fact. The day when the last emperor goes to Jerusalem to hand over his power to God, the scattered pieces of the cross must first be reunited and given to him and he himself must bring the cross with him to Jerusalem in order to carry out the ceremony (860 C). In the eyes of Nicephorus and his contemporaries the role of Jerusalem had been taken over by the new Jerusalem, Constantinople.

Constantinople was supposed to enjoy the special protection of the Mother of God ever after its delivery from the siege of the Avars in the year 626, which was attributed to her intervention. There was also a legend saying that Constantine the Great had formally dedicated the new

⁷¹ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883), 337,8ff.

capital, not to Tyche (to whom Constantinople originally was dedicated) or to Christ (as a competing legend said), but to the Mother of God.⁷² Exactly when this legend was born is not known. The first "historical" description of the dedication to the Mother of God is, according to Frolov, to be found in the beginning of the eleventh century in the *Synaxarium CP*, col. 673: ταύτης τῆς θεοφυλάκτου καὶ βασιλίδος πόλεως τῆς ἐξαιρέτως ἀνακειμένης τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς διὰ παντὸς σωζομένης.... (Subject: Constantine) ἀναθεῖς ταύτην (i.e., Constantinople) τῇ ὑπερενδόξῳ δεσποίνῃ ἡμῶν Θεοτόκῳ καὶ ἀειπαρθένῳ ... ἀνῆλθεν ἐν τῷ φόρῳ The legend seems to be implied in a legendary *Vita Constantini* from ca. 900, in which the Lord says to Constantine: ... ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ μητρί μου τῇ θεοτόκῳ Μαρίᾳ οἰκοδομήσεις πόλιν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ αὐτὸς ὑποδείξω σοι,⁷³ and also in a tenth-century mosaic, in the southwest vestibule of St. Sophia, representing the Mother of God holding her Son. They are surrounded by Constantine the Great and Justinian I, of whom the former is presenting to the Mother of God a model of the city of Constantinople and the latter a model of St. Sophia.⁷⁴ According to Frolov, it is already implied in a stanza by Andreas of Crete (ca. 700), beginning with the words τὴν πόλιν σου φύλαττε, θεογεννήτορ πάναγνε.⁷⁵ At any rate, it is a reasonable question to ask if the expression κεχάρισται τῇ Θεοτόκῳ in the present passage implies the notion of a formal dedication by the first Byzantine emperor. The answer seems to be given in a corresponding passage in the *Vita Basilii iunioris*, ed. A. N. Veselovskij (1889), 65 (cod. Mosquensis synod. 249, fol. 134).⁷⁶ Basil is predicting the attack of certain barbarians called Ῥὸς καὶ Ὅγ καὶ Μόγ, i.e., the Russian attack of the year 941. His pupil Gregory, the author of the *Vita*, asks him anxiously: Κύριέ μου, κύριε, καὶ μήποτε μέλλει παραλήψεσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν; Basil reassures him: Ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔασει ταύτην τὴν πόλιν παραληφθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν αὐτῆς, εἰς γὰρ κληρὸν αὐτῆς δέδοται αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἱκανῶς αὐτῆς ὑπερασπίζεται. Here it is expressly stated that Constantinople has been

⁷² On this whole topic, see Frolov, "La dédicace de Constantinople."

⁷³ F. Halkin, "Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin dans un légendaire de Patmos," *AnalBoll*, 77 (1959), 79.

⁷⁴ Frolov, "La dédicace de Constantinople," 91f. For a reproduction of the mosaic, see C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, DOS, VIII (Washington, D. C., 1962), pl. 5, or H. Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia. Mit einem Beitrag von Cyril Mango über die Mosaiken* (Berlin, 1967), pl. 91, with Mango's analysis on p. 58f.

⁷⁵ "La dédicace de Constantinople," 69 note 1.

⁷⁶ In: *Sbornik' otdelenija russkago jazyka ... Imp. Akad. Nauk'*, XLVI, No. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1889), Supplement, 10-76.

given to the Mother of God by God Himself. As the two passages are very similar, it may be inferred that Nicephorus also, if he meant anything in particular, meant that the giver was God. That would, in fact, very well suit his concept of Constantinople as a holy city, a new Jerusalem.

The belief in the Mother of God as the protectress of the inhabitants of Constantinople is expressed a second time in 848 Cff., where AS and Epiphanius, while attending a night-long doxology in the *soros* of St. Mary of Blachernae, see in a vision how the Virgin takes off her veil and spreads it over the congregation. The city of Constantinople is not mentioned here, but it seems reasonable to assume that the people in the church represent the people of Constantinople as a whole.

As to the longer version of CK, according to which Constantinople will be attacked by the Arabs and by a people whose name begins with the seventeenth letter of the Greek alphabet, I have suggested in *Eranos*, 105, that the mention of the latter of these enemies reflects the legendary account of the famous Russian attack on Constantinople in the year 860. Be that as it may, the relatively precise kind of information which CK give does not easily fit the generally unhistorical character of the AS-eschatology. I consequently think that here, as often elsewhere, CK represent an enlarged and secondary version.

853 B–873 A The eschatological drama described by AS may be summarized as follows:
(21–337)

1. An emperor “from poverty” will reign for thirty-two years. In the twelfth year of his reign he will impose no taxes, but raise up churches and restore destroyed altars. He will humble the sons of Hagar, tame the fair-haired peoples, bring Illyricum and Egypt back under Roman domination. His reign will be characterized by peace, wealth, righteousness, and orthodoxy.

2. The son of lawlessness will reign for three and a half years.

3. There will appear an emperor who will deny Christ, read the writings of the pagans, and persecute the Christian priests.

4. A good emperor will come from Ethiopia and reign in peace for twelve years.

5. Another good emperor will come from Arabia. After one year, he will go to Jerusalem and surrender the diadem (i.e., the imperial power) to God.

6. Three evil young men will reign in peace for 150 days. Then they will start a civil war and kill each other in a terrible battle.

7. For lack of men, the power will be given to a wicked woman.

8. During her reign, Constantinople will sink into the sea; only the column of Constantine the Great will remain visible.

9. Between the description of the "beginning of the birth pangs" (2-8) and the description of the events of the end (10ff.), AS polemizes against those who say that from now on the Jews will reign until the end of the seventh millennium.

10. After a period of mourning of forty days the power will be transferred to Rome, Thessalonica, and Syria.

11. Within a year after the disappearance of Constantinople the gates which Alexander the Great closed will open and the seventy-two foul nations will come pouring out and devastate the whole world.

12. Antichrist will appear from the tribe of Dan. Elijah, Enoch, and John the Evangelist will be witnesses. They will be killed by Antichrist. There will be war between Antichrist and Christ and Antichrist will be killed.

13. The dead will rise and Christ will return.

How does this scheme compare with that of related eschatological documents, i.e., first, in the Greek Pseudo-Methodius, and second, in the Second Vision of Daniel?

The first half of Pseudo-Methodius' apocalypse is a kind of survey of the history of the world from Adam to the author's own time, to which there is no parallel in the Life of AS.⁷⁷ The second half (chap. 8 ff.) is a prophecy which, after the description of the preliminary victories of the Ishmaelites, contains the following main points:

1. An emperor who was considered dead will arise from the sea of the Ethiopians and defeat the Ishmaelites. There will be peace as in the time of Noah.

2. The gates in the north will open and the foul nations come pouring out.

3. The emperor will go to Jerusalem.

4. After ten and a half years the son of perdition of the tribe of Dan will appear.

5. The emperor will go to Golgotha and put his crown on the cross and surrender his power to God.

⁷⁷ For an analysis of Pseudo-Methodius, see Alexander, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs," 54f.

6. The son of perdition will go to Jerusalem and sit in the temple.

7. Enoch and Elijah will denounce Antichrist and he will kill them.

8. The return of the Lord.

Along with certain common elements, such as the foul nations and the surrender of the imperial crown in Jerusalem, there are a number of significant differences between the eschatology of AS and that of Pseudo-Methodius. Pseudo-Methodius' survey of the history of the world serves the purpose of showing that Ethiopia in Psalm 68(67):32, Αἰθιοπία προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ Θεῷ, is in fact the Roman, i.e., the Byzantine, Empire. AS on the other hand has no historical introduction and does not try to prove anything, although he now and then refutes different opinions on smaller questions. Further, Pseudo-Methodius has only one emperor, whereas AS has five. This emperor roughly corresponds to AS no. 1, but Pseudo-Methodius does not say that he will reign for thirty-two years or that in the twelfth year he will rebuild churches and altars. He will be the last Roman emperor, the one who goes to Jerusalem and surrenders his empire to God. In the prophecy of AS the fifth emperor will do this. In Pseudo-Methodius there are no "three evil young men"; the parallel to these is in his "historical" section, where Alexander the Great is succeeded by his four παῖδες, i.e., servants. There is no wicked woman, nothing on the fate of Constantinople, no polemics against the Jews. Thus, Nicephorus, even if he may have known about Pseudo-Methodius, certainly did not use him as a model for his own eschatology.⁷⁸

As to the Vision of Daniel, there are several different versions. Alexander⁷⁹ lists the oldest three, all of which he dates to the ninth century: First Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev,⁸⁰ 33–38, by W. Bousset⁸¹ called M II; Second Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, *op. cit.*, 38–43, by Bousset called D I; Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, translated from a lost Greek original composed in the ninth

⁷⁸ There seems to be no clear indication that Nicephorus had first-hand knowledge of Pseudo-Methodius. That the twelve-year emperor, i.e., a reincarnation of Alexander the Great, is said to come from Ethiopia could give the impression that he had some, perhaps indirect, knowledge of Pseudo-Methodius, in whose work the alleged Ethiopian origin of Alexander plays an important role. But, on the other hand, Nicephorus might as well have got this feature from the Alexander romance itself. On the idea that Alexander the Great was the son of an Ethiopian princess, see E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. Pseudomethodius, Adso und die tiburtinische Sibylle* (Halle, 1898), 26 ff.

⁷⁹ P. J. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," *AHR*, 73 (1968), 999.

⁸⁰ *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*.

⁸¹ W. Bousset, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie (Schluss)," *ZKircheng*, 20 (1900), 261–90.

century. The first of these versions has little in common with our text. The last I am not able to use. The second, entitled "Ὁρασις τοῦ Δανιήλ περὶ τοῦ ἐσχάτου καιροῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, is worth comparing with the prophecy of AS. The situation in the beginning is that the Ishmaelites are invading the Roman Empire led by a young man. Then, the main points of the story are the following:

1. There will appear an emperor ἐκ πολυφόρου (?)⁸² whose name begins with τὸ τριακοστὸν στοιχείον⁸³ (i.e., Λ). There will be a battle in which so much blood is shed that a horse can get drowned in it. He will pursue the Ishmaelites together with the fair-haired peoples. He will go to Rome and destroy τὸ Ἰόδον (?) and receive riches which will be distributed among the people.

2. An evil emperor will shed the blood of the saints, join brother and sister in marriage, and arm the priests.

3. The Roman Emperor will come from the west and adorn Constantinople. He will say: "Woe to you, City of Seven Hills, for you too will be drowned by the waters." He will reign in peace for thirty-two years. He will be pious and rebuild the churches. The great men will become like kings and the poor will become rich.

4. During the peaceful reign of his successor the foul nations will appear. The emperor will go to Jerusalem. There will be war everywhere. The women will become widows and seven women will lust for one man. After twelve and a half years the son of perdition will appear. The emperor will surrender his empire to God.

5. The son of perdition will go to Jerusalem and destroy the temple. Enoch and Elijah will witness and be killed by the son of perdition.

6. The resurrection and the return of Christ.

Bousset identified nos. 1 and 2 of this eschatology with Leo III and Constantine V. According to him, this Vision of Daniel was first written in the beginning of Leo's reign and then enlarged during the reign of his son. But, as Dr. S. Gero has pointed out to me, it is unlikely that the portraits of the first two iconoclast emperors would have been so completely different with regard to good and evil.

⁸² An interpolation in Pseudo-Methodius, by Bousset called M I A, has in the corresponding context the variant reading ἐκ πολλοῦ φόρου, followed by the words ἐπιφερόμενος δύο λεπτὰ δνίσασθαι θέμους, δς ἐνεδύσατο σάκκον (ed. Istrin, p. 40, *app. crit.*). Thus the point seems to be that the origin of the emperor will be humble.

⁸³ The normal sense of στοιχείον is "letter," but as the Greek alphabet has only twenty-four letters, the meaning must be "the thirtieth numeral." The corresponding passage in the First Greek Vision of Daniel reads ἔστιν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ τριακοστὸν κεφάλαιον ("the sum thirty"). Thus στοιχείον may be corrupt for κεφάλαιον.

As the document in its present shape dates from the ninth century, the question might not be as simple as I thought it was in my paper in *Eranos*, 101ff., in which I accepted Bousset's interpretation. As to no. 3, Bousset thought that one of the Frankish rulers was alluded to, perhaps even Charles the Great himself. This identification is not easy to prove. I would restrict myself to the observation that the model of this emperor clearly is Constantine the Great who came from the west and built the new capital on the Bosphorus and was supposed to have reigned for thirty-two years. The parallel passage in the apocalypse of Elijah, quoted by Bousset, 277, is also an obvious allusion to the founder of Constantinople and not, as Bousset had it, to his son Constans. At any rate, the AS-prophecy has more elements in common with the Second Vision of Daniel than with the First or with Pseudo-Methodius. Here we find not only one, but four successive emperors, of whom the first, the third, and the fourth, who in the end will surrender the Roman Empire to God, are good and the second evil. This differs from the succession of good and evil emperors in the Life of AS only in that there the first good emperor is succeeded by two evil ones. Thus, it seems highly probable that Nicephorus was familiar with the Second Vision of Daniel in one form or another. That in turn reminds us of the often quoted statement of Liudprand of Cremona in *The Embassy to Constantinople*, chap. 39: "The Greeks and Saracens have certain writings which they call The Visions of Daniel; I should call them Sibylline Books. In them is found written how many years each emperor shall live; what crisis will occur during his reign; whether he shall have peace or war and whether fortune will smile upon the Saracens or not. According to these prophecies the Assyrians in the time of the present emperor, Nicephorus, will not be able to resist the Greeks, but Nicephorus himself will live for only seven years. After his death an emperor will rise worse than he...."⁸⁴ Note that in Liudprand's version of the Vision of Daniel a bad emperor will succeed a good one (or a less bad according to Liudprand), exactly as in the version that has been preserved until the present day. On the other hand, it is clear that Nicephorus has not just taken the succession of emperors from the Second Vision of Daniel and simply expanded it through the insertion of a second evil ruler. He has treated the tradition much more freely. Nos. 1 and 3 have been combined into a single emperor, i.e., the first one,

⁸⁴ *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. F. A. Wright (London, 1930), 257f.

which explains the strange mixture of peace and war in the description of his reign. No. 3 has been replaced by an emperor whose reign will last for twelve years. After the last emperor has surrendered the empire to God there will be two more evil reigns, first that of the three young men and then that of the wicked woman, both of which are missing in the Second Vision of Daniel.

Closely related to this vision is the interpolation in Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 40, *app. crit.*, by Bousset called M I A. The three first emperors are roughly the same, but the fourth, during whose reign the foul nations will arrive, is characterized as blasphemous. It ends with the sinking of Constantinople into the depths of the sea.

Later revised versions of the Second Vision of Daniel are legion. One which has been preserved in many MSS can be studied in Vassiliev, *op. cit.*, 43–47, in Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik*, 115–20,⁸⁵ and in Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago*, 135–39. Bousset calls this version D II and describes it as “ein spätes Machwerk wohl schon aus dem Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge, in dem die Elemente älterer Weissagungen in verwirrender Weise durcheinander geworfen sind” (262). However, the parallels with the AS-apocalypse show that at least its second half represents a considerably older structure. It begins with the prophecy that three angels will be sent to the earth, one to the περιβόλαια (?) and the islands, one to the west, and one to Asia, Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, and the Mother of cities. A number of elements follow which seem to be late and have little or nothing in common with the AS-text. Then its scheme is as follows:

1. The Byzantines will find a man who is righteous, merciful, and φορῶν πενιχρά and will make him emperor. He will beat the Ishmaelites, Ethiopians, Franks, Tatars, and all peoples. On his return the treasures of the earth will open and everybody will become rich and the earth will bring forth a sevenfold grain and the weapons will become sickles. He will reign for thirty-two (*v. l.* 36) years.

2. There will arise an emperor who will reign for twelve years and then go to Jerusalem and surrender his power to God.

3. His four sons, reigning in Rome, Alexandria, Heptalophos (i.e., Constantinople), and Thessalonica will kill each other in civil war.

⁸⁵ French translation in the study by F. Macler, “Les Apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel,” *RHR*, 33 (1896), 311 ff.

4. For lack of men a wicked woman will reign in Constantinople.

5. Because of her blasphemy Constantinople will be drowned in the sea. Only Xerolophos will remain visible.

6. Another ruler will reign for a short time in Thessalonica. Soon also this city will be drowned.

7. The reign of Antichrist.

According to this version of the Second Vision of Daniel there will be only two emperors before the surrender of the imperial power to God. On the other hand, the act of surrender to God does not indicate the absolute end of the Roman Empire, as the succession of different reigns will continue for a while. Obviously it does mean, however, that from now on there will be no good and pious ruler. Thus the pious twelve-year emperor will be succeeded by his four evil sons who will wage war against each other. The former is, as already indicated, a reincarnation of Alexander the Great; his sons are the diadochs. Their equivalents in the above summary of the AS-prophecy are nos. 4 and 6. It now becomes clear why in this prophecy Alexander does not immediately precede the diadochs. Nicephorus wanted another emperor to deliver the imperial crown to God. As there could be no good emperor after this ceremony had taken place, the author had to put him in before no. 5, thus slightly weakening the link between him and his traditional successors. Nicephorus also changed their number from four to three; this will be discussed below.

Both the diadochs and the wicked woman are missing in the original Second Vision of Daniel. Other features which are missing there but are common to the revised version and the Life of AS are the description of the flooding of Constantinople (in the older document mentioned only as a prophecy within the prophecy) and the prediction that after the disappearance of Constantinople the power will be transferred to Thessalonica (to Rome, Sylaiion, and Thessalonica according to AS). The revised version also stresses the poverty of the first emperor more expressly than the original Second Vision (ἐκ πολυφόρου the Second Vision, φορῶν πενιχρά the revised version, ἀπὸ πενίας AS). Thus, the comparison with this text strengthens the impression that Nicephorus was familiar with some version of the Second Vision of Daniel. That this version was not identical with the Second Vision of Daniel proper, but with one which had developed later, seems clear. How much later? The version just summarized was, according to Bousset, *op. cit.*, 290, composed in the

thirteenth century. But, as the passage which can be compared with the Life of AS obviously has been inherited from an older stage of the tradition, this date, even if it could be confirmed, is of no use in our case. Moreover, there is a third example of this eschatological tradition which offers parallels to the AS prophecy, namely the one printed by Istrin, *Oktrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago*, 145–50, under the title: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου λόγος περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου. It begins with the prophecy of the three sons of Hagar, Οὐάχης, Ἀξιάφαρ, and Μορφόσαρ, invading the Roman Empire and threatening Constantinople from Chalcedon. They are depicted in a way that reminds the reader of the three angels in the preceding version of the Vision of Daniel. Then the savior-emperor will appear and defeat the Ishmaelites and there will be peace and wealth. His reign will last thirty-six years. His successor will be an evil emperor who will join relatives and monks in marriage. Then the wicked woman will reign and Constantinople will disappear. The power will be transferred to Rome. Then the Jews will be reunited in Jerusalem and harass the Christians all over the world. The Antichrist will be born and the Jews will believe in him; and so forth. In this variant many standard features are missing, such as the twelve-year emperor, the surrender of the empire to God, and the foul nations. The name of the savior-emperor is said to begin with the eighth letter of the alphabet, i.e., with Θ. Bousset wonders if Theodosios III (715–17) could be meant. To me the evidence for such an early date seems rather weak, especially as in that case one would expect it to be more closely related to Pseudo-Methodius than it actually is. On the whole it is not very like the eschatology of AS, but there are a number of close parallels in the details. When the savior-emperor defeats the Ishmaelites the blood of the fallen will redden the sea at a distance of twelve stades, just as in the battle between the three evil young men in the Life of AS. Exactly as in this Life, only the column of Constantine the Great will remain visible when Constantinople disappears (in the Vassiliev version [*supra*, note 80], 43–47 ff., it is Xerolophos). Thereupon the power will be transferred to Rome (to Thessalonica according to the other version, to Rome, Thessalonica, and Sylaiion according to AS). During the reign of Antichrist “those who live in the mainland will flee to the islands and those who live in the islands will flee to the mainland,” which reminds the reader of the Life of AS of the prophecy that “those who

live in Asia will flee to the Cyclades of the islands, for Asia will mourn for the islands and the islands for Asia'' (869 A). Thus, none of the versions of Pseudo-Methodius or the Vision of Daniel summarized here can have been Nicephorus' only source of information on these matters. He must either have read and used more than one of the eschatologies we know or have used an unknown text which included all the features we now collect from different sources. Of these possibilities, the latter is purely theoretical. It is unlikely that there ever existed a version that contained all the features we now find scattered in many sources. As far as we know, the eschatological tradition was unrestricted and unsettled. As time went by some features were abandoned, others were added, old features returned in new combinations, and so forth. In the case of Nicephorus, his polemics against different *τινές* who say certain things indicate that he was familiar with several apocalyptic documents. It seems to me that one of these was the Second Vision of Daniel in a form not yet fully developed in the ninth century. But absolute certainty, if it can be arrived at, is not to be expected until the Middle-Byzantine eschatological tradition has been examined in its entirety.⁸⁶

- 853 B–860 C The prophecy of the end of Constantinople begins with the
(21–121) description of the reigns of five successive Roman emperors, of whom the first, fourth, and fifth are good and the second and third evil. Who are these emperors? It is tempting to try to link them with a succession of Byzantine emperors of the ninth or tenth century. Thus, the first emperor has been identified by A. A. Vasiliev⁸⁷ with Michael III and by J. Wortley⁸⁸ with Basil I. As the description of the following emperors does not fit the successors of Michael and Basil, these identifications imply that the Life of AS was written, say, in the sixties of the ninth century, or that Nicephorus, writing at a later date, included in his work an apocalypse written at that time. But as far as I can see there is no reason to believe either that the first emperor was Michael III or that he was Basil I, nor is there any other Middle-Byzantine emperor who might easily be recognized as the

⁸⁶ A major work on the eschatological tradition in Byzantium before the crusades is being prepared by Professor Paul J. Alexander.

⁸⁷ "The Emperor Michael III in Apocryphal Literature," *Byzantina et Metabyzantina. A Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1 (1946), 237–48. The section on the Life of AS is repeated in *idem, The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, Publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), 161 ff.

⁸⁸ "The Warrior-Emperor of the Andrew Salos Apocalypse," *AnalBoll*, 88 (1970), 43–59.

model of any of the eschatological kings of the *Vita*. In fact, Nicephorus does not seem to have had any contemporary emperor in mind. On the contrary, AS is obviously recounting, in the future tense, the history, distorted by anachronisms and legend, of the first years of the Byzantine Empire. As I have tried to explain in my paper in *Eranos*, 101 ff., the first, second, third, and fifth emperors represent the Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great to Jovian. The fourth, characterized as Alexander the Great, is closely connected with the three young men who succeed the fifth emperor, in 860 C, and bear the traits of the diadochs. One would expect Alexander to be their immediate predecessor, but as a good emperor he is not supposed to reign after the fifth emperor has surrendered the imperial crown to God, and so the author inserted him before this emperor. However, this identification does not mean that Nicephorus incorporated in his work an apocalyptic document written in the year 364, when Jovian died. It simply means that he arranged the eschatological material available in his time in the pattern of the earliest history of the Byzantine Empire. It means further that his description of the last Byzantine emperors is more theoretic than that of most other apocalyptic texts. This feature fits the general character of the *Vita*. The Life of AS is not only a saint's Life but also a kind of pseudo-learned encyclopedia,⁸⁹ answering questions such as: Where do the clouds get their rain? Why is the snow white? What is the soul made of? Where are the souls of the saints now? It is significant that MSS ECK should let Epiphanius begin the conversation by asking questions about natural phenomena (see 853 A, *app. crit.*). The eschatological question of the end of the world and the fate of Constantinople should not be isolated from these other questions. On the contrary, it should be interpreted as forming a part of the encyclopedia which occupies a large portion of the *Vita*. Within an encyclopedic framework a general, timeless treatment of the eschatological question is more appropriate than a prophecy which interprets its own time as the very beginning of the end.

- 853 B–856 C It is a characteristic feature in the AS-eschatology that it
 (21–58) begins with peace and happiness whereas the eschatology of Pseudo-Methodius and the Second Vision of Daniel begin with the description of a desperate military situation from which

⁸⁹ I owe this observation to Professor P. J. Alexander.

the Byzantines eventually are saved through the sudden appearance of a victorious emperor whom everybody had thought was dead. Pseudo-Methodius and the author of the Second Vision of Daniel wrote under the impression of the Arab conquests. The mention of the war against the sons of Hagar (856 A) probably is a reminiscence of the victories of the savior-emperor of Pseudo-Methodius and the Vision of Daniel, but the situation in the *Vita* of AS is quite different. Here, there is no mention of a military threat. The reason for the Roman expedition is only that the sons of Hagar are supposed to be blasphemous. This accords well with the assumption that the Life of AS was written in the tenth century. It was obviously written by a man who felt secure within the borders of a strong empire and whose main concern was not the military but the religious situation.

As pointed out above, Nicephorus' description of the first eschatological emperor contains features which characterize two different emperors, the first and the third, of the Second Vision of Daniel. The emperor's humble origin and his war against the Ishmaelites and taming of the fair-haired peoples derive from the first source. The idea that he will appear as a revived Constantine the Great originates from the second. It is hard to know how generally it was understood that the prototype of this emperor was in fact Constantine the Great, but that Nicephorus himself was aware of it appears clear from the fact that he describes his successors after the model of Constantine's successors and from the prophecy that in the twelfth year of his reign he will raise up churches and restore altars; this corresponds to the later image of Constantine, according to which he founded Constantinople τῷ ἰβ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ,⁹⁰ but is lacking in the Second Vision of Daniel.

In his article "The Warrior-Emperor of the Andrew Salos Apocalypse,"⁹¹ Wortley has traced a number of similarities between this emperor and Basil I and concluded that the former alludes to Basil. Undoubtedly there are similarities between the two, but in my opinion they are not striking enough to make Wortley's conclusion imperative. When, e.g., Wortley concludes that the prophecy "in the last days the Lord God will raise up an emperor from poverty" alludes to

⁹⁰ See my paper in *Eranos*, 107f. To the evidence mentioned there add Halkin, "Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin" (*supra*, note 73), 84 (par. 8, line 28).

⁹¹ See note 88. In my opinion, the designation warrior-emperor is rather inappropriate, as the reign of this emperor is characterized more by peace than by war.

Basil I because this Emperor was of humble origin, I would prefer to explain it as a variant of the description of the first emperor of the Daniel Vision. The similarity to Basil I may be due to coincidence. It is perhaps also possible that the poverty of the future Basil I was stressed and exaggerated because of the apocalyptic tradition. It is, however, interesting to compare Nicephorus' description of the first eschatological emperor with Constantine Porphyrogenitus' portrait of his grandfather in the *Vita Basilii*. This portrait has been analyzed by Professor Alexander⁹² from the point of view of the Byzantine *Kaisergedanke*. In the Byzantine *Kaisergedanke* the notion of "newness" played an important part but, as the analysis of the *Vita Basilii* shows, "newness" did not mean innovation but rejuvenation, the restoration of a splendid past. Prof. Alexander demonstrates that this conservative concept of the imperial mission goes back to Constantine the Great, in whose opinion the Christian religion was as old as the world itself and who considered it his duty to restore man to the condition he had enjoyed before the Fall. God had recalled man the first time through his Son, now he recalled him again through Constantine, the first Roman emperor to accept and favor Christianity. Now, AS does not say that the first eschatological emperor will restore men to the innocence of the period before the Fall, but that his reign will be like the days of Noah. Such a statement, based as it is on Matt. 24:37f. and Luke 17:26f., would normally mean that men will live in prosperity combined with wickedness until sudden destruction comes upon them, taking them completely by surprise. Pseudo-Methodius, speaking of the reign of the savior-emperor, quotes the same biblical passage, and in this context, even if there is no mention of wickedness, it is more appropriate, as the days of happiness are interrupted suddenly by the invasion of the foul nations. In the Life of AS the comparison with the days of Noah is rather pointless, first, because the "beginning of the birth pangs" will not come until the second emperor and later on there will be two more good emperors and destruction will come still later; second, because Nicephorus stresses the righteousness, moderation, and orthodoxy of the reign of the first emperor. The comparison, as he hastens to remark, is in this context strictly limited to the rest from tribulation. His description of the first eschatological emperor seems to me,

⁹² In "The Strength of Empire and Capital" (*supra*, note 67), 348ff.

with its emphasis on the restoration of Church and Empire, on righteousness, moderation, and orthodoxy, to be a good example of the Byzantine *Kaisergedanke* as outlined by Prof. Alexander. The presence of this ideology in the AS text is, I think, due precisely to the fact that Constantine the Great has been chosen as the prototype of the first emperor. So far as I can see, there is insufficient reason to believe that Nicephorus learned it from the *Vita Basilii*.

I still have no definite answer to the question why Egypt and Illyricum are especially mentioned in connection with this emperor. The attempts of Vasiliev and Wortley to link them with incidents during the reign of Michael III or that of Basil I are unconvincing. My own explanations in *Eranos*, 110, are tentative. It is worth noting, however, that both Egypt and Illyricum are among the countries that will be attacked by the expanding Ishmaelites, according to Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 15. Consequently, these names fit the situation in the seventh century, but I do not think this should be taken as evidence for an early dating of the AS apocalypse. Instead, Nicephorus may have chosen them more or less at random among several possible names in order to express what seems to be the main idea of the passage, namely, that before the "beginning of the birth pangs" the Roman Empire will once again be restored to its former size and splendor.

- 856 C–857 B (59–85) The second emperor corresponds, as Bousset, "Beiträge," 274, shows, to the second ruler of the Second Greek Vision of Daniel and the second ruler of Bousset's M I A (Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago*, 40, *app. crit.*). However, the parallel passages are much shorter than the version of AS. When M I A says he will be *ὀλιγοχρόνιος*,⁹³ AS explains that he will reign for three and a half years, which designates him as a forerunner of Antichrist.⁹⁴ Both the vision of Daniel and M I A speak about the incest, but AS dwells on it at greater length and adds that the emperor will join monks and nuns in marriage. Bousset thinks that the description would fit Constantine V seen through the eyes of a monk, a view which I accepted in 1968, but about which I am now somewhat skeptical because it is hard to understand why

⁹³ This suggests the reading *ὀλιγοχρόνιος* for the unintelligible *ἀραήγλιχος*, *Vita AS*, 856 C (line 60).

⁹⁴ Cf. Rev. 12: 14, *καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμῖς καιροῦ* (after Dan 7,25 and 12,7); Pseudo-Hippolytus, ed. Achelis, 299 (*supra*, note 43) (chap. 25): τοῦ γὰρ Δανιὴλ εἰπόντος "ἑβδομάδα μίαν θήσεται τὴν διαθήκην μου" τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐδήλωσεν, τὸ ἡμῖς τῆς ἑβδομάδος τοῦ κηρύξαι τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ, τὸ ἡμῖς τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἡγουν τὰ τρία ἡμῖς ἔτη βασιλεύσει ὁ ἀντίχριστος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

the image of the iconoclast emperor Leo III should be altogether good if the image of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V is altogether evil. Thus, I would now restrict myself to identifying him with Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine the Great, for reasons given in *Eranos*, 110.

The wordy narrative of AS does not give many more facts than the shorter versions of M I A and the Vision of Daniel. The description of the thunderstorms may be an elaboration of Matt. 24:27 (cf. Pseudo-Hippolytus, chap. 36, ed. Achelis, 303f.). There is, however, one remarkable feature which AS mentions but the other sources omit, namely the statement that after these days those will be blessed who live in Rome, Riza, Armenopetra, Strobilos, and Karioupolis. Do these names have any historical implication? Riza and Armenopetra give no clue, as I have not been able to identify them. A Karioupolis is mentioned in "La Vie de S. Philarète," ed. M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 165 line 28, where the author says that he wrote the *Vita* ἔτους ,στλ' (in the year 821/822) ἐν ἐξορίᾳ ὧν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, ἐν Καριουπόλει. The editors assume that the exile was due to his being an iconophile. But that does not seem to solve our problem. If AS alludes to places not infested by Iconoclasm one would like to see Karioupolis mentioned as a place where monks are said to escape Iconoclasm and not as a place where they are exiled because of their icon-worship. A Strobilos was situated on the southeast coast of Asia Minor.⁹⁵ It was besieged by the Arabs in 913 and would probably have been taken had not the Saracen commander Damianos fallen ill and died.⁹⁶ Thus, does AS refer to places that will not fall into the hands of the Arabs? But, even assuming this, the choice of names is strange and, moreover, the context does not seem to allude to any particular enemy. As to Rome, Riza, and Armenopetra, AS may be playing on the meanings "strength," "root," and "rock," indicating that their inhabitants will be safe because they live in places that are strong and firm. Perhaps even Strobilos and Karioupolis were chosen because the author attributed to these names some sense which is hidden to us. At any rate, I doubt that he is alluding to any specific contemporary events.

⁹⁵ A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II,1 (Brussels, 1968), 166 note 1; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, SBWien, Phil.-hist. Kl., 124, 8 (Vienna, 1891), 38f.

⁹⁶ Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 388; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II,1, 229.

857 C–860 B (86–107) The third emperor has no counterpart in the other Middle-Byzantine eschatologies. He seems to be Nicephorus' own invention, created to fit his conception of the last reigns of the Roman Empire as a return of the emperors Constantine the Great, Constantius, Julian, and Jovian. The prophecy that he will deny Jesus Christ, read the writings of the "Greeks," and convert himself to paganism clearly connects him with Julian the Apostate.

Also, the sentence τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν φούρκαν ὀνομάσει seems to suit the image of Julian perfectly. However, J. Wortley⁹⁷ has found a striking parallel in Euthymios Zigabenos (twelfth century), *Contra Messalianos*, PG, 131, col. 45 B: τοῖς . . . τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν φούρκαν ἀποκαλοῦσι . . . ἀνάθεμα. He believes that Nicephorus was directly inspired by this work, which in his opinion is not authentic. But, authentic or not, the *Contra Messalianos* seems to reflect the acts of a council held after 1092,⁹⁸ so there is little chance that Nicephorus could have used it. Still it remains possible that he borrowed the statement in question from the Messalians. It can hardly originate from Julian himself, as he is unlikely to have used an expression like φούρκα. But if Nicephorus borrowed it from the Messalians, he obviously changed the meaning when he applied it to Julian, because the contempt of the Messalians for the cross was, according to Germanos II, patriarch 1222–1240, based on the fact that it had killed Christ: Οὐ χρὴ, φασὶ (i.e., the Messalians), τὸν σταυρὸν προσκυνεῖν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀτιμάζειν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι, ὡς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀνελόντα καὶ θανατώσαντα (PG, 140, col. 632B). This is of course not the argument of an apostate.

Why Julian should be called a "grim-looking ass" I am not able to explain. Usually Nicephorus uses βλοσυρός only in the expression βλοσυρῷ τῷ ὄμματι (656 B, 697 B, 760 D); it occurs as a variant reading in 757 B: ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ καπνὸν ἐκπορευόμενον A; similarly β: βλοσυρόν DE. To the combination βλοσυρὸς ὄνος I have no parallel. Until an explanation is found it might be best to regard ὄνος as corrupt.

Another peculiar element in the section on Julian is the prophecy that he will make κατακοπὴν λαοῦ τῆς μέσεως κατὰ τὰς δημοσίας στράτας, i.e., if the text is sound, that he will

⁹⁷ "The Life of St. Andrew the Fool," *Studia Patristica*, X. Papers presented to the Fifth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1967. Pt. I. Editiones, Critica, Philologica, Biblica, Historica, Liturgica et Ascetica, ed. F. L. Cross = *TU*, 107 (1970), 318.

⁹⁸ M. Jugie in *DTC*, 5, col. 1579f.

“cut down people of the Mese in the public streets.” This is not, as far as I know, a typical element in the image of Julian the Apostate; nor, on the other hand, does it contradict it. Probably it is just another characteristic of his evil nature. Nicephorus may have borrowed it from the description of some other evil ruler. The form μέσεως, for which Du Cange suggested ἡμίσεως, I take as a Byzantine genitive of μέση; cf. 760 C: διερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ μέσεως (sic DE: ἐπὶ μέσεως is missing in β, the whole passage is missing in P); 768 D: φεῦγε . . . τοῦ ἐκάστη ὥρᾳ ἐπὶ μέσεως προέρχεσθαι καὶ βλέπειν τὰς θυρίδας τοῦ κατοπτεῦσαι κάλλος μοχθηρὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον (the details vary, but even β has ἐπὶ μέσεως); further, 784 A and 804 B: φιάλεως for φιάλης; and S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), 174, on other metaplasmic forms of κώμη, φιάλη, etc. Ἡ Μέση proper was the main street from the Augustaion to the forum of Constantine, but ἡ Μέση may also refer to the main street from Constantine’s forum to the Golden Gate and the church of the Holy Apostles.⁹⁹ Metonymically it was also used of the people in the street, as appears from Georgius Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, 824: προβάλλεται Μιχαὴλ Βάρδαν τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα· ὃς ἐπὶ ἄρματος πορευθεὶς ἔδωκεν ὑπατεῖαν τῇ μέσῃ. Thus, in the present passage, λαὸς τῆς μέσεως perhaps stands for the people of the street, ordinary people in contrast to the ἱερατεῖον, the clergy, mentioned immediately before. But the expression is so strange that it may be corrupt and in need of an emendation.

A large portion of the section on the third emperor is missing in the important β-branch, in which there is a large lacuna from the middle of 857 C to the end of 860 A. Unfortunately, the difficult passage which I have rendered by “the islands and the valleys from Thrace and downward will become desolate” falls within this lacuna. For ἄκοντας (ἀκούοντας P) αὐτούς, which is certainly wrong, I suggest κατοικοῦντες. The expression “those who live on the islands” etc. for simply “the islands” etc. is strange but has a certain support in Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 39: ἐξερήμωσαν . . . τοὺς κατοικοῦντας πλησίον Ρώμης. It may also have an OT flavor; cf. Ps. 72(73):19 (subject: the wicked): ἐγένοντο εἰς ἐρήμωσιν. In both cases the idiom appears to be of Semitic origin. The whole passage seems to echo Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 29,6f.: καὶ αἱ νῆσοι τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἔσονται καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπολοῦνται μαχαίρᾳ καὶ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ.

⁹⁹ R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 390.

As far as the islands are concerned, the allusion appears to be to the raids of the Arabs in the Aegean Sea. As these did not begin until the seventh century, the passage is anachronistic in relation to the reign of Julian. Thrace was sacked throughout the centuries by different invaders. It is hard to know whether Nicephorus had any particular invasion in mind.

860 B (108–13) The fourth emperor will come from Ethiopia, “from the first horn,” he will be a good ruler and his reign will last twelve years, all features that characterize him as an Alexander *redivivus*, for reasons which I have given in *Eranos*, 111. As such he is an intruder in the series Constantine, Constantius, Julian, and Jovian, but forebodes the arising of the diadochs, i.e., the three evil young men in 860 Cff. See above, note 78.

860 C (114–21) The fifth emperor will reign for one year and be a good ruler. This fits Jovian, who reigned for only eight months but was highly regarded by the Christians because of his restoration of Christianity after the anti-Christian rule of Julian. It is remarkable that AS says that he will come from Arabia. In *Eranos*, 112f., I suggested that it might have something to do with the Syriac Julian romance, according to which Jovian, before he became emperor, was in command of 170,000 Arabian soldiers in Julian’s army. As there seems to have been no Greek translation of the Syriac Julian romance, this explanation presupposes that Nicephorus knew Syriac. Professor I. Shahid points out to me that Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, V, 20,85, refers to the western part of northern Mesopotamia as Arabia, while the eastern part of the same region was called in Syriac Bêth-Arabâyê, i.e., the abode of the Arabs, or Arabia. As Julian died and Jovian was proclaimed emperor somewhere on the eastern side of Tigris north of Ctesiphon (Ammianus Marcellinus, bk. XXV), Nicephorus may be referring to the fact that Jovian became emperor in or near an area called Arabia.

According to the Julian romance Jovian was crowned emperor in a miraculous way: the imperial crown was put on the cross and Jovian knelt before it, whereupon the crown descended by itself and placed itself on Jovian’s head.¹⁰⁰ If Nicephorus knew this legend, it must have seemed natural to him to apply to Jovian the prophecy that the

¹⁰⁰ Th. Nöldeke, “Über den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian,” *ZDMG*, 28 (1874), 278; H. Gollancz, *Julian the Apostate now translated for the first time from the Syriac original* (Oxford-London, 1928), 212ff.

last Roman emperor will go to Jerusalem, put the crown on the cross, and surrender his power to God.¹⁰¹ In the seventh-century Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, where the legend of the Last Roman Emperor is first attested, the cross seems to be in Jerusalem, waiting for the crown of the Roman Empire. Nicephorus, writing in the tenth century, is aware that the relics of the true cross have been spread all over the world and therefore says that the scattered pieces will be collected and put together again and that the restored cross will be given to the emperor, who will bring it back to Jerusalem.

Arriving in Jerusalem the emperor will go to a place where the feet of Christ stood, i.e., I presume, to Golgotha. Then the MSS vary as to the details of the ceremony. According to D and P he will dedicate the diadem by putting it on the cross and together with these surrender his soul to God. Apart from the surrender of the cross, this is in accordance with the traditional story, but seems to put a certain force on the sense of the verb παρατίθημι. According to β and E he will dedicate the cross and the diadem and together with these surrender his soul to God. In this case cross and crown are equivalent, which is contrary to the usual form of the legend but suits the fact that the emperor will bring both cross and crown with him. As to παρατίθημι, it is here used in a way which has a parallel in the inscription on the column of Constantine the Great in Constantinople as quoted by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, PG, 145, col. 1325D: Σοί, Χριστέ ὁ Θεός, παρατίθημι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην. Thus, weighing the pros and cons, I am inclined to choose this version instead of that of D and P.

860 Cff. (122ff.) Although the diadem has been dedicated in Jerusalem and thus the Roman Empire proper has come to an end, the succession of rulers will continue for a while. There is, however, a change at this point. From now on there will be no more pious ruler and no more ruler who can be identified with any Byzantine emperor. What follows is a description of the gradual loss of power and the disintegration of the Empire.

860 C–864 A (122–61) The first reign of this period is that of the three young men who will reign in peace for only 150 days and then start a

¹⁰¹ On the biblical and theological background of this prophecy, see Alexander, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs" (*supra*, note 70), 55ff.

civil war and kill each other in a bloody battle. They are, as pointed out above, closely connected with the Alexander of the fourth reign and thus represent the diadochs, who have a bad reputation in the apocalyptic tradition. One would expect them to be four as in the Daniel Vision summarized above, but in fact the first young man, who will go to both Thessalonica and Rome, represents two different diadochs, namely, the one reigning in Thessalonica and the one reigning in Rome. In 1968 I assumed that the reason they are only three was that Nicephorus associated them with the triumviri, who appear in the Sibylline oracles, III, 52, and there, as in the Life of AS, are followed by a woman. It must be added, however, that there is also a certain similarity to the three angels mentioned in the beginning of the same late Daniel Vision, especially between the third young man, who will enroll Phrygia, Karia, Galatia, Asia, Armenia, and Arabia, and the third angel who will be sent to Asia, Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, and the Mother of cities. As I have said before, these in turn correspond to Οὐάχης, Ἀξιάφαρ, and Μορφόσαρ, the three sons of Hagar mentioned at the beginning of the Methodius text printed by Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago*, 145–50. I am not certain as to the exact interrelation of these two versions, but it seems clear that Nicephorus in this passage has conflated two different traditions, one originating from the history of Alexander the Great and the diadochs and the other from the apocalypses inspired by the Arab conquests. Thus, the similarity with the triumviri probably is only superficial or, at the most, indirect.

The first sentence of the section on the second young man is difficult. If the text is sound, ἐκστρατεύσει must be transitive and mean “make to march out,” but for this sense there is only a distant parallel in the *Ars rhetorica* attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 9,5: ὁ γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀπόρως ἔχει ἐκστρατεῦσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. It is quite possible that it has its usual intransitive meaning and that something has dropped out, perhaps something like καὶ στρατοπεδεύσει after ἐκστρατεύσει *propter homoeoteleuton*, or that an εἰς should be supplied after αὐτός. Further, the expression τὰς Κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων is peculiar, but Nicephorus uses it again in 869 A and B. In the latter passage he explains it as an allusion to Isaiah meaning “the churches in the land of the gentiles.” But it is not certain that the “Cyclades of the islands” is always used figuratively.

From Mesopotamia and the "Cyclades of the islands" the second young man will go to "the navel of the earth," i.e., Jerusalem, which, on the basis of Ps. 73(74):12, was supposed to be situated in the center of the world.¹⁰² This seems to be Nicephorus' own view, as he adds that τινές say that he will go to Alexandria. These τινές are probably identical with those in the revised Second Vision of Daniel, already referred to several times, according to which one of the diadochs will reign in Alexandria and the others in Rome, Thessalonica, and Constantinople respectively. One may wonder what caused Nicephorus to exchange Alexandria for Jerusalem and also why he gave Mesopotamia such an important role. I have no definite answer to these questions, but some tentative answers may be suggested. One reason may have been that both were closer to the existing Byzantine Empire than was Alexandria,¹⁰³ another that the only city mentioned in connection with the three angels in the beginning of the late Daniel Vision is αὐτὴ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πόλεων, which presumably means Jerusalem, and thus may have influenced Nicephorus' choice; in the version published by Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskogo*, 135 ff., Mesopotamia appears in the same context. A third reason may have been that he wanted a city with a meaningful name like Rome, Thessalonica, or Sylaiou and that in this respect "the navel of the earth" served his purpose better than the colorless name of Alexandria. Of these possibilities, I regard the first as the least and the second as the most likely.

A puzzling passage in the section on the third young man is that on Sylaiou. To begin with there are two cases of textual uncertainty. First, before Σύλαιον most MSS have τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον. If this is the original reading, a piece of direct speech must have dropped out, as Janning says (in his note no. 33), before the following ταῦτα εἰρηκώς. However, it seems more likely that the sentence beginning with Σύλαιον constitutes direct speech; so I prefer the variant of Ε τάδε λέγων, which also corresponds well to the λέγων αὐτῇ in the beginning of 861 A. Secondly, the MSS vary between συλληφθήσεται (β D) and συλληθήσεται (EP). In the latter case the φ may have been omitted unintentionally, but it may also stand for συληθήσεται, which in itself would make

¹⁰² Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (*supra*, note 78), 77 note 3; A. Frolov, *La relique de la vraie croix*, AOC, 7 (Paris, 1961), 57 note 2. There seems to be little support for the view of the MSS C and K that Alexandria was the navel of the world.

¹⁰³ In the reign of Leo VI a theme was organized under the name of Mesopotamia; see N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance Byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), 349. But it does not seem likely that Nicephorus is alluding here to this small border theme.

reasonable sense. The author is playing on the name of Sylaiion¹⁰⁴ as he has just been playing on the names of Rome and Thessalonica, and both verbs can apparently serve this purpose. I have, however, chosen συλληφθήσεται. The meaning of this verb is slightly ambiguous, and so the addition of οὐδὲ παραληφθήσεται seems natural,¹⁰⁵ whereas the combination συληθήσεται — παραληφθήσεται forms a *hysteron proteron*.¹⁰⁶ As to κληθήσεται, the reading seems safe, but the sense has not been understood correctly. Janning renders it *postulabitur ad deditionem* and the MSS CK change it to ἐπικέκλησαι, “(Sylaiion) is your name.” Neither of these interpretations is convincing. What is said here points forward to 868 C, where Constantinople has disappeared into the depths of the sea and the power of the Roman Empire is transferred to Rome, Thessalonica, and Sylaiion. The third young man is saying that Sylaiion will be spared because after the fall of Constantinople it will be called to take over the power together with Rome and Thessalonica.

There is no description of the battle between the diadochs in the Daniel Vision edited by Vassiliev, Klostermann, and Istrin. Nicephorus’ model seems to have been the apocalyptic battle in which the Arabs will be defeated by the savior-king; maybe this is the reason why the armies are supposed to be drawn up in places outside the Empire. We are not told where it will take place, but the parallels indicate that it will be fought at Constantinople.

- 864 A–865 A The wicked woman appears already in the *Oracula Sibyllina*,
(162–206) III, 75ff., and VIII, 194ff., where the historical prototype clearly is Cleopatra.¹⁰⁷ She also appears in the Armenian Vision of Daniel, where according to the translator she represents Verina, the wife of the late Leo I.¹⁰⁸ But the closest parallel to Nicephorus’ version of the story is, as is so often the case in this section of the *Vita*, a passage in the revised version of the Second Vision of Daniel: καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι ἄνδρα χρήσιμον βασιλεύσει γυνή μισὰ ἐν τῇ Ἑπταλόφῳ

¹⁰⁴ In the case of Sylaiion the pun is of the *ex contrariis* type; cf. E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), 487.

¹⁰⁵ For παραλαμβάνω, “capture a place,” cf., e.g., *Martyrium Arethae*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, V (Paris, 1833), 57, παρελήφθη Ταφάρ ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις.

¹⁰⁶ The MSS BDEP all spell Σύλαιον with one λ, but if συλληφθήσεται is authentic, it should perhaps be changed to Σύλλαιον.

¹⁰⁷ H. Jeanmaire, “Le règne de la Femme des derniers jours et le rajeunissement du monde. Quelques remarques sur le texte de ‘Oracula Sibyllina’ VIII 190–212,” *AIPHOS*, 4,1 (1936) (Mélanges Franz Cumont), 297–304. A. Kurfess, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen, Urtext und Übersetzung* (Munich, 1951), 288. I. Becher, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur* (Berlin, 1966), 111.

¹⁰⁸ Macler, “Les Apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel” (*supra*, note 85), 300.

καὶ μίανη τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστήρια καὶ σταθεῖσα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑπταλόφου βοήσκει φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγουσα· Τίς θεὸς πλὴν ἐμοῦ καὶ τίς δύναται ἀντιστῆναι τὴν ἐμὴν βασιλείαν; (quoted from the edition of Klostermann, 119,89ff., corresponding to Vassiliev, 46,16ff., and Istrin, 138,4ff.). Neither the Vision of Daniel nor the AS-apocalypse seem to allude to any Byzantine empress. As P. Maas has remarked,¹⁰⁹ there is nothing to support Murray's tentative identification of the woman with the empress Irene.¹¹⁰ According to Macler (*supra*, note 85), *loc. cit.* note 1, the woman alludes to Jezebel. This might be true in some respects; cf. the words θεὸν ἑαυτὴν κρατοῦσα¹¹¹ in our text 864 B with Rev. 2:20: τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν. However, her harlotry reminds the reader more of "Babylon, mother of harlots"¹¹² in Rev. 17 and her ὑπερηφανία of the king of Babylon who says that he wants to ascend to heaven and make himself like the Most High (Isaiah 14:13f.). The belief that in the end Constantinople will sink into the depths of the sea is closely related to the final fate of Babylon as described in Rev. 18:21: καὶ ἤρεν εἰς ἄγγελος ἰσχυρὸς λίθον ὡς μύλινον μέγαν, καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν λέγων· οὕτως ὁρμήματι βληθήσεται Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἔτι; cf. Jer. 28(51):42 and 63f. Nicephorus does not mention the name of Babylon here, but in the corresponding passage in the third version of Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 63,29ff., Constantinople is expressly called the "Babylon of Seven Hills": ἐξιόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος τῆς ἑπταλόφου καὶ ἐπιόντος ἐν τόπῳ ἀπαχθεὶς ποντισθήσεται ἡ πόλις ἡ λεγομένη Βαβυλὼν ὃν τρόπον ὁρμήματι λίθου; Cf. further the Armenian Vision of Daniel, trans. Macler, 300, "Malheur à toi . . . Babylone aux sept collines, quand la veuve régnera," and the original Second Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, 41,8f., where the king from the West who will reign for thirty-two years (i.e., Constantine the Great) enters the ἑπτάλοφος Βαβυλὼν and prophesies: οὐαὶ σοι, ἑπτάλοφε, ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἀπὸ ὑδάτων καταποντίσεις. Later Nicephorus himself, who in the beginning of his eschatology calls Constantinople the New Jerusalem, gives it the name Babylon, namely 868 B, where the seafarers bewail τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ταύτην, i.e., the sunken city of Constantinople. I find it reasonable to assume that Nicephorus here applies the biblical

¹⁰⁹ BZ, 21 (1912), 318 (rev. of S. Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas*).

¹¹⁰ In *Life of Andreas* (*supra*, note 3), 31.

¹¹¹ As to the sense of κρατέω, cf. *Vita Nili iun.*, PG, 120, col. 57 B, μαϊνόμενόν με κρατοῦντες, and Demetrakos, *Mega Lexikon*, s.v. κρατῶ, 18.

¹¹² For "mother of harlots" = "the biggest harlot," see *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel, I (Stuttgart, 1949), 512 note 3.

method of comparing certain cities with harlots¹¹³ and that the wicked woman is nothing else than a personification of Constantinople itself. That Nicephorus says that she will come from Pontus is puzzling, but he is perhaps playing on the literal meaning of the name and connecting it with the verb ποντίζειν or alluding to the "City by the Sea" or something similar. If he meant that she will come from the real Pontus, the woman must represent something more than a personification of Constantinople; in that case I have no explanation to suggest. It may be noted that the λόγος Μεθοδίου printed by Istrin, 145ff., simply says that she is an ἀλλόφυλος (147,36).

Still harder to explain is why she is called μόνδιον. Janning printed it as a name, but no woman with that name is known. Moreover, as the preceding rulers are anonymous, she is not likely to have a name. If it is an adjective, it is equally unparalleled. Both meaning and etymology are obscure. Most probably it is a false reading demanding emendation.

For the words κατὰ ῥύμην καὶ κατὰ οἰκίαν (864 A), cf. Pseudo-Hippolytus, ed. Achelis, 303: ἐν πλατείᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις θνησιμαῖα, ἐν πλατείαις καὶ ἐν οἴκοις πείνα καὶ δίψα, ἐν πλατείαις θόρυβοι, ἐν οἴκοις κοπτετοί.

For relatives killing each other (864 A) as a traditional element in the Antichrist story, see W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1895), 76f.

As to the κιθάραι καὶ ὀρχήσεις καὶ τραγωδίαί σατανικαί (864 B), cf. Rev. 18:22: καὶ φωνὴ κιθαρωδῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ (i.e., Babylon) ἔτι. At the same time the passage reflects the constant fight of the apostolic fathers against secular song and dance, cf., e.g., Ephraem Syrus, ed. G. Assemani, III, col. 381 E (under the heading: Τὸ πῶς ἐπιστρέφει τις εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ὅτι οὐ χρὴ παίζειν χριστιανόν) ὁ διάβολος καλεῖ διὰ κιθάρων καὶ χορῶν καὶ ᾠσμάτων δαιμονικῶν, and the *Leges Homeritarum*, PG, 86,1, col. 600 Bf. Οἱ κιθαρωδοί, καὶ οἱ λυρισταί, καὶ οἱ τραγωδοί, καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες χερσὶ, καὶ οἱ ὀρχούμενοι ὑπομενέτωσαν (the verb meaning "should be punished," according to the editor); see further Ph. Kukules,¹¹⁴ V, 206ff., and H. Reich,¹¹⁵ 109ff. In the opinion of Reich, the wicked woman is a predecessor of Antichrist in the guise of a Byzantine mime (p. 824 note).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 513.

¹¹⁴ Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός, I–VI (Athens, 1948–57).

¹¹⁵ *Der Mimus* (Berlin, 1903).

Regarding κλινεῖ . . . θυμὸν (864 D), cf. the λόγος Μεθοδίου, ed. Istrin, 148,7f.: κλίνει κύριος τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ. See also *supra*, note 39.

The use of the word χοῦς in the sentence ὑποτέμῃ τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῆς πόλεως (864 D) is strange. I guess the author has borrowed the expression from Mark 6:11, ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν, without taking note of the different situation.

The image of a millstone for Constantinople (865 A) evidently derives from Rev. 18:21, quoted above. The participle γυροβολούμενος I have rendered "whirling." The verb seems to have been a wrestling term; cf. the demotic verb γυροβολιάζω which, according to Demetrakos, is used of wrestling; he paraphrases it περιστρέφων τινὰ τὸν τινάσσω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους. In the story of Andreas wrestling with the Ethiopian giant (636 C) it appears as a variant in DE.

- 865 B–868 A I do not know who the τινές were who, on the basis of Isaiah (207–42) 11:12 and 16 and Rom. 11:25f., say that after the reign of the gentiles God will let the divine tribes¹¹⁶ of Israel reign until the end of the seventh millennium.¹¹⁷ They are not likely to have been Jews, for in that case they would probably have been quoted as such, and it is also less likely that a Jew would have quoted St. Paul in support of his opinion. It is true that Isaiah 11:12–16 is referred to by a Jew in the part of *Vita Gregentii* known as *Disputatio cum Herbano Judaeo*, PG, 86,1, col. 692 Aff., but there the seventh millennium is not mentioned, nor is St. Paul referred to. Herban also quotes Isaiah much more exactly than AS does.¹¹⁸ Nor have I found anything similar to the view of the τινές in the ancient commentaries on the biblical passages in question or in the treatises *contra Judaeos* known to me. The traditional Christian interpretation of the σημεῖον of Isaiah 11:12 is that it refers to the cross.¹¹⁹ Rom. 11:25 was

¹¹⁶ θεόσκηπτρα is a *hapax*. I understand σκήπτρον as φυλή and θεο- as 'belonging to God,' perhaps referring to Ps. 81(82),6: Ἐγὼ εἶπα· θεοὶ ἔστε, καὶ υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου πάντες.

¹¹⁷ If we are to believe that the conversation between AS and Epiphanius took place during the reign of Leo I (457–74), this means that the Jews will reign for about 1000 years, as the seventh millennium was supposed to begin around the year 500 (see, for instance, P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress*, DOS, X [Washington, D.C., 1967], 119f.). But the τινές referred to probably belonged to Nicephorus' own time; and so it is not certain that they were chiliasts.

¹¹⁸ For the participle ἀπολογούμενος in Rahlfs' Septuagint text, the MSS of the Life of AS have ἀπολλυμένους and ἀπωσμένους. It is interesting to note that, according to PG, all three variants appear in the MSS of the *Disputatio*. On the Jewish hope of a return to the Holy Land, see, for instance, W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., ed. H. Gressmann (Tübingen, 1926), 236ff.

¹¹⁹ See, e.g., Basilus of Caesarea, PG, 30, col. 557 Aff.; Cyrillus of Alexandria, PG, 70, col. 329 D ff. and Theodoretus of Cyrene, PG, 81, col. 317 D.

interpreted as a reference to the conversion of the gentiles.¹²⁰ No commentary I have seen relates the two passages to each other. Both Isaiah and St. Paul are quoted very freely by the τινές. The words of Isaiah εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ("he will raise an ensign for the nations") they replace by ἐν τῇ συμπληρώσει τῶν ἔθνων, which seems to mean "when the number of the gentiles has been completed." In Rom. 11:25 they substitute ἤξει for εἰσέλθῃ to make possible the interpretation "when the full number of the gentiles has come," which is, I take it, equivalent to "after the reign of the gentiles," i.e., in this case, after the reign of the three young men and the wicked woman. All that can be said on the basis of my material is that their speculation makes an unorthodox impression. Their tolerance toward the Jews may be compared to that demonstrated by Gregory, the pupil of Basil the Younger and author of the *Vita* of this saint. Gregory says he had started to think that the Jews were not so bad after all, but Basil soon convinced him in a spectacular way that he was wrong.¹²¹

Nicephorus himself does not think that Rom. 11:25f. implies more than that the Jews will be allowed to return from exile before the end. The only reason for this is, according to him, that they thus will be deprived of their pretext for envy.¹²² Then Antichrist will appear immediately. According to 821 B, the Jews have been waiting for him all the time. In the present context Nicephorus says that they will be the first to be deceived by Antichrist. The Hippolytus ὁ μάρτυς referred to in support of this opinion seems to be the so-called Pseudo-Hippolytus, who probably in the ninth century compiled a treatise on the end of the world on the basis of Hippolytus' *De Antichristo* and certain homilies by Ephraem the Syrian.¹²³ But the related belief that Antichrist will establish the kingdom of the Jews appears already in the writings of Hippolytus himself; see A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden, 1970), 298. Denis thinks that Hippolytus is referring to a well-known legend of Christian, or at least not Jewish, origin. The τινές, who think that God himself will establish the kingdom of the Jews, do not take this tradition into

¹²⁰ See, e.g., John of Damascus, PG, 95, col. 533 Df.

¹²¹ *Vita Basilii iun.*, ed. Veselovskij, Sbornik' otdělenija russkago jazyka, LIII, No. 6 (1891), Supplement, 3ff. (cod. Mosquensis *synod.* 249, fol. 147^vff.).

¹²² For φόβου (end of 865 C) I read φθόνου with E, which gives a better sense. The envy of the Jews is also mentioned in *Vita Basilii iun.*, ed. Veselovskij, *loc. cit.*, 131,29; 132,1; 139,27 (cod. Mosquensis *synod.* 249, fol. 299^vff.).

¹²³ H. Achelis, *Hippolytstudien*, TU, N.S., I,4 (Leipzig, 1897), 79.

consideration but concentrate on the interpretation of Isaiah 11:12 and Rom. 11:25f.

The quotation from John 8:21 (24), καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖσθε (865 C), I have excluded from the text as having little value as evidence in this context and because it is lacking in MSS β and P. It may be noted, however, that the combination of John 5:43 and 8:21 (24) appears also in *Vita Basilii iun.*, ed. Veselovskij (1891), 8 (cod. Mosquensis synod. 249, fol. 153^v).

I am not certain as to the meaning of ἐπ'ἀπωλείας (865 C), which may be corrupt. I have tentatively rendered it "false."

868 B (251–54) As in the case of the τινές in 865 B, I cannot identify the τινές who say that the Great Church of God (i.e., St. Sophia) will be suspended in the air when the rest of Constantinople is flooded by the sea. Nicephorus may be referring to some rather obscure oral tradition, or even inventing the τινές just to make his narrative more lively and interesting.

The prophecy that only the column in the forum will be left when Constantinople disappears contradicts the Daniel Vision edited by Vassiliev, 43–47, Klostermann, 115–20, and Istrin, 135–39, according to which it is the Xerolophos, as the seventh hill of Constantinople was called, that will remain above water. The basis for this particular view is perhaps that the name of the seventh hill contains the adjective ξηρός, "dry." However, it agrees with the prophecy of the λόγος Μεθοδίου edited by Istrin, 148, 8ff.: καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τὰ τεῖχη καταπεσεῖται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπομένει ἐν σοί, εἰ μὴ στύλος τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ἵνα ἐκεῖ θρηνησωσιν οἱ πλείοντες τὴν θάλασσαν. Thus, we find here another instance of the affinity between this document and the AS-eschatology.

For the belief that the nails which had fastened the body of Christ to the cross had been inserted in the statue of Apollo-Helios in the guise of Constantine the Great on the column in the forum, more specifically, in the rays which crowned its head, see this Life, 837 C; further, the Life of Constantine published by Halkin (*supra*, note 73), 94, 33ff. and Frolow (*supra*, note 66), 77. Frolow refers, besides to the Life of AS, to the *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), 174; to Zonaras, XIII, 3, ed. Bonn., III, 18 (PG, 134, col. 1112 A), and to *Synaxarium CP*, ed. Delehaye, col. 673. He observes that this detail was not added until the Middle Ages, when there

seems to have been a tendency to render the statue in the forum more venerable.

For Constantinople as a new Babylon, see 864 A4–865 A.

- 868 C (255–58) The variant reading of DE, καὶ ἀπὸ πόνου τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων, is perhaps intended to be a counterpart to Matt. 24:29, μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων (cf. the variant καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψεως τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων of CK), and could thus possibly be understood as “after the distress of those days.” I have, however, chosen the simpler version of β which seems safer and has a parallel in 857 B.

The transfer of the political power to other cities after the flooding of Constantinople is mentioned also in the λόγος Μεθοδίου edited by Istrin, 145ff., and in the Daniel Vision eds. Vassiliev, 43ff., Klostermann, 115ff., and Istrin, 135ff. According to the former apocalypse, the βασιλεία (cf. the βασίλειον of AS) will be given to Rome; according to the latter it will be given to Thessalonica. Both of these cities are among those held by the diadochs at an earlier stage in the eschatological drama. The Life of AS, however, seems to be the only source according to which the power will be divided between three of the cities mentioned in connection with the diadochs. Only Jerusalem is missing, but this omission seems to be motivated by the preceding polemic against the Jews. In other respects the parallelism between this section and the diadoch section is very striking. In both cases there is a tripartition of power which illustrates how the imperial authority grows weak and the Empire disintegrates. One may ask whether this parallelism is peculiar to the Life of AS or whether it was already traditional at the time when Nicephorus was writing. I am inclined to attribute it to Nicephorus' own invention, but a definite answer depends on a correct interpretation of the enigmatic role of Sylaiion in this context. It is indeed remarkable that a small town on the coast of Pamphylia, whose sole merits were that it had a bishop,¹²⁴ that it was one of the bases of the navy of the Cibyraeot theme,¹²⁵ and that near it an Arab fleet had been wrecked,¹²⁶ appears in the AS eschatology as an heiress of Constantinople on a par with Rome and Thessalonica. It may be that Nicephorus here makes an allusion which, if we were able to understand

¹²⁴ W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers, IV (London, 1890), 420.

¹²⁵ H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer; la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e–XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966), 83 note 3; 108; 111.

¹²⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, ed. de Boor, 354,10.

it, would throw light not only on this section but on the whole *Vita*. So far, however, I have not been able to see any other common denominator for the three cities than the etymological pun on their names, and it is quite possible that no deeper sense should be sought.¹²⁷

The words τοῦ τέλους ἤδη ἐγγίσαντος καὶ λοιπὸν ἄτονα τὰ πράγματα γενήσονται have a certain ring of Hesychius Milesius, ed. T. Preger, *Script. Orig. Const.*, I (1901), 1,1ff. Δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος μοναρχίας διεληλυθότων ἐνιαυτῶν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς ἤδη πρὸς πέρας ἀφιγμένων Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Κωνσταντίου παῖς ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν σκήπτρων τὴν νέαν ἀνίστησι Ῥώμην ἴσην αὐτὴν τῇ πρώτῃ χρηματίζειν προστάξας. The idea, developed in the sixth century and implicit in this passage, is that the new Rome in the East was the young, vital Rome in contrast to the aging, senile, dying Rome of the West.¹²⁸ In the eschatology of AS the words are similar but the situation is different. Constantinople itself, which is never called New Rome, will pass away. Its power will be transferred to Rome, Thessalonica, and Sylaiion, and thus the old Rome will revive again and survive what was officially considered the new Rome. But only for a short time. Soon τὰ πράγματα, an expression I have rendered as "government," will lose its force again, this time definitely.

The readings of P, πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἤδη ἐγγίσαντες, and D, πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐγγίσοντος ἤδη, are still closer to the passage of Hesychius Milesius quoted above. If they are more original than that of β, which I have chosen because of its better syntax, the meaning is either "which [i.e., the three cities] already are approaching the end" or "which [i.e., the Empire] will already approach the end."

- 868 C–869 A τὸ γὰρ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο: i.e., in the same year as Constantinople will
(258–76) pass away. The reigns of Rome, Sylaiion, and Thessalonica will last for only a short time; cf. the Daniel Vision, ed. Vassiliev, 46,23f. (Klostermann, 119,96f.; Istrin, 138,11f.). καὶ οὕτως (after the passing away of Constantinople) βασιλεύσει ἕτερος ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐπὶ χρόνον μικρόν.

ἀποφράξει: ἀποφράττω has its traditional meaning, "block up, stop up" in 653 B, but here it must mean the opposite, "to open," a meaning which occurs in later Greek; see

¹²⁷ On the mediaeval thinking in terms of etymology, see Curtius, *Europäische Literatur (supra, note 104)*, 488ff. The examples in hagiography are legion, see, e.g., my *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala, 1970), 48f.

¹²⁸ F. Dölger, "Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner," *ZKircheng*, 56 (1937), 24; see also E. Gren, "Zu den Legenden von der Gründung Konstantinopels," *Eranos*, 55 (1947), 153ff.

Demetrakos, *Mega Lexikon*, s.v., and also my *Bemerkungen zum Leben des hl. Narren Symeon* (*supra*, note 127), 57.

τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐν † Ἰνδαλίᾳ † ἃς ἐκλείσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ ἐξελεύσονται βασιλεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο: Nicephorus, on two points, differs in a remarkable way from the corresponding passage in Pseudo-Methodius' prophecy, ed. Istrin, 20,7ff. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰεζεκιήλ φωνὴν καὶ προφητείαν τὴν λέγουσαν "ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελεύσεται Γῶγ καὶ Μαγῶγ εἰς τὴν γῆν Ἰσραήλ" (cf. Ezek. 38:14–16) οἱ εἰσὶν ἔθνη καὶ βασιλεῖς, οὓς καθεῖρξεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ Βορρᾶ, Γῶγ καὶ Μαγῶγ . . . (Pseudo-Methodius enumerates twenty-two peoples). First, Pseudo-Methodius locates the gates to the north, which is the normal location in texts influenced by the Bible (cf. Ezek. 38:15), whereas the MSS of the Life of AS place them in Ἰνδαλία, or in κινδύνας, or in Ἰνδία. The first two variants do not seem to make sense; so it would be tempting to adopt Ἰνδία. It is true that no other source, at least among those known to me, says that the gates are in India, but, as India plays an important part in the Alexander romance, Nicephorus may have put the gates there more or less carelessly. Secondly, the number of the kings and their peoples is twenty-two according to Pseudo-Methodius, but no fewer than seventy-two according to Nicephorus. Directly or indirectly, Pseudo-Methodius arrived at his number from the number of barbarian nations which Alexander the Great traditionally was supposed to have subjugated, ὑπέταξεν (i.e., Ἀλέξανδρος) ἔθνη βαρβάρων κβ', Ἑλλήνων ι',¹²⁹ and in his turn passed it on to later apocalyptists who used him as a source.¹³⁰ In the earliest work which is specific on this point, the Syriac *Christian Legend Concerning Alexander*, the number is twenty-four, a number which appears also in other, later sources.¹³¹ According to H. Stocks¹³² and myself,¹³³ this is due to the fact that the foul nations were identified with the offspring of Japheth, one of Noah's three sons (Gen. 10), and thus may have been supposed to represent one-third of the seventy-two biblical peoples. It should be added, however, that none of our sources explicitly allots twenty-four of the seventy-two biblical peoples to Japheth.¹³⁴ Other numbers

¹²⁹ *Historia Alexandri Magni*, ed. W. Kroll, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), 146,2f.

¹³⁰ A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Included Nations*, Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, V (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 54f.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹³² "Ein Alexanderbrief in den Acta Cyriaci et Julittae," *ZKircheng*, 31 (1910), 37.

¹³³ In *Eranos*, 116.

¹³⁴ Anderson, *op. cit.*, 24 note 1.

are also mentioned in the sources,¹³⁵ but as far as I know, Nicephorus is the only author who says that the peoples are seventy-two in number. His motive for that is not quite clear. The fact that he does not mention Gog and Magog could indicate that he is thinking not of a fraction but of the whole sum of the biblical peoples, which was seventy-two.¹³⁶ On the other hand, he can hardly have meant that Alexander excluded all peoples. Probably he is simply using seventy-two as a traditional round number of peoples characterized as ὧν ἀριθμὸς ὥσει ἄμμος θαλάσσης, which is used of the foul nations in the original Second Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, 41.

The expression σάρκας ἀνθρώπων ζώσας (868 D) I understand as "the raw flesh of men." Pseudo-Callisthenes, version β, ed. L. Bergson (Uppsala, 1965), 205,1 and the Second Greek Vision of Daniel, ed. Vassiliev, 42,9f., have simply σάρκας ἀνθρώπων; Pseudo-Methodius has νεκρῶν σάρκας (ed. Istrin, 18,7).

The κύθρων οἶκους (869 A) is dubious. However, the general meaning of the sentence is clear, namely that the sanctuaries will be profaned. Cf. Pseudo-Hippolytus, ed. Achelis, 291, οἱ ναοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς οἶκοι ἔσονται; *ibid.*, 303, τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὡς "ὀπωροφυλάκιον" (Isaiah 1:8) γενήσονται; Pseudo-Methodius, ed. Istrin, 32 (the Arabs appear in the guise of the foul nations): τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔνδον εἰς τὰ ἅγια μολύναντες κατασφάζουσι καὶ κοιταστήσονται ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς σεπτοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς τόποις, ἐν οἷς ἡ μυστικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος ἐπιτελεῖται θυσία; Euthymios Zigabenos, *Contra Phundagiagitas*, PG, 131, col. 56 A: Κτίλουσιν ἐκκλησίας οἱ ἄσεβεῖς, καθὼς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὡμολόγησαν, οὐ πίστευε, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ἐμπαίλειν, καὶ μιαίνειν αὐτὰς, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὰς μιὰς πράξεις, καὶ μίξεις αἰσχρὰς ποιεῖν μὴ παραιτούμενοι.

The exhortation to flee (869 A) echoes Matt. 24:16 (Mark 13:14, Luke 21:21): τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη. The following statement that Asia will mourn for the islands and the islands for Asia seems to be an adaptation of a prophecy found in the λόγος Μεθοδίου, ed. Istrin, 149, 14f.: τότε . . . οἱ ἐν τῇ στερεᾷ γῇ φεύξονται ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ἐν τῇ στερεᾷ.

- 869 B For the belief that Satan will come from the tribe of Dan, (277–86) see Bousset, *Antichrist*, 112ff., and for his ugliness, *ibid.*, 101f.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 54ff.

¹³⁶ For references concerning the 72 peoples of the world, see Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek* (*supra*, note 117), 32 (note on line 47).

As to the statement that Christ himself had descended to Hades and bound Antichrist, cf. *Vita Basilii iun.*, cod. Mosquensis synod. 249, fol. 105 (ed. Veselovskij [1889], 41): . . . τὰ ταμεῖα τοῦ ἄδου, ἃ συνέτριψεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ἀχράντου πάθους αὐτοῦ κατιῶν ἐκεῖσε μετὰ ψυχῆς θεικῶς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ἄδου δεσμεύσας δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τὸν Σατανᾶν (the text seems slightly corrupt, but the sense is clear). According to Rev. 20:1f., it was not Christ himself but an angel that bound Satan. However, chap. 1:18, "I have the keys of Death and Hades," indicates that the idea of Christ's descension to Hades and his fight with Satan and victory over him existed already at the time when the Revelation to John was written.¹³⁷

For Isaiah on the islands, cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or. 44 in novam Dominicam*, PG, 36, col. 608 A: Ἐγκαινίζονται μὲν πρὸς Θεὸν νῆσοι, τῷ Ἡσαΐα ὥσπερ ἀνέγνωμεν, ἄστινας δὴ τὰς νήσους ταύτας ὑποληπτέον· οἶμαι δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν Ἐκκλησίας ἄρτι καθισταμένας, καὶ τῆς ὀλμυρᾶς ἀπιστίας ἀνακυπτούσας, καὶ πῆξιν λαμβανούσας, τῷ Θεῷ βάσιμον.

869 C The traditional opinion was that the witnesses who will
(286–96) appear during the reign of Antichrist are Elias and Enoch.¹³⁸ The Life of AS, here and in 817 A, B, represents a later stage of the tradition, according to which these two will be joined by John the Evangelist, a version which is also represented by Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Hippolytus, among others.¹³⁹ This belief seems to have been regarded as popular, to judge from the commentary of Arethas of Caesarea on Rev. 10:11 (PG, 106, col. 645 B): Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ δεῖ ὡς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ῥητοῦ τοῦ, Δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι, ἔχουσι δόξαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς μέχρι τῆς συντελείας ὁ μακάριος οὗτος ζῆ, καὶ ἤξει κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου μετὰ Ἐνῶχ καὶ Ἡλίου ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἐπανορθούμενος τοὺς τηνικαῦτα ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποκτανθήσεται. The long version of the MSS CK is mostly an adaptation of Rev. 11.

The variants ὀλένω, ὀλεννύω, and ὀλεννύνω, which appear here and in 872 C, seem to be late forms of ὀλλυμι, but so far I have seen no other instances of these particular forms. They apparently represent a development in a direction which came to a dead end. As in most cases of doubt, I have followed the reading of β.

¹³⁷ W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos. Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus*, 6th ed. (Göttingen, 1967), 30.

¹³⁸ *Idem.*, *Antichrist* (*supra*, p. 251), 134 ff.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 137. Bousset says John the Baptist, but he must mean John the Evangelist.

- 873 A παρούσης καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ταπεινότητος. Nicephorus sometimes
(339) pretends that he knew AS personally and therefore some commentators have dated the composition of the *Vita* to the sixth century.¹⁴⁰ But the Life of AS is fiction, not a historical document. A number of anachronisms show that it must have been written several centuries after the supposed lifetime of the Saint.

As I have tried to show above, his theory on the end of the world reflects the apocalyptic tradition in a form it did not develop until after the appearance of the Second Vision of Daniel, dated to the ninth century. In 648 A he says that AS ἦν παῖλων κατὰ τὸν πάλαι Συμεὼν ἐκεῖνον τὸν θαυμαστόν. According to the sources, Symeon Salos lived in the sixth century, and his Life was written in the middle of the seventh. As the adverb πάλαι indicates that Nicephorus regarded him as a man of ancient times, this is a revealing anachronism. In 712 B he mentions the church of the Mother of God in Constantine's forum, built by Basil I (867–86).¹⁴¹ Among chronological arguments *e silentio*, the references to the ἀντίφορος (656 B), τὰ Μαυριανοῦ (832 D), and τὸ Ἐπτάσκαλον (841 D) may be mentioned. Elsewhere, the earliest reference to an ἀντίφορος in Constantinople seems to be Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, ed. I. I. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), 165, 17. Τὰ Μαυριανοῦ is not known before the ninth century¹⁴² and τὸ Ἐπτάσκαλον not before the tenth.¹⁴³ Further, the mention of a χαρτουλάριος τῶν πλοῦμων in 849 B is clearly anachronistic.¹⁴⁴

On the whole, the author is not greatly concerned with time. At the beginning of the section translated here Nicephorus speaks about τὴν μίαν ταύτην ἑβδομάδα, but we are not told what week he is referring to. Now he says that the conversation has taken place τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ, although we have not previously been told that AS and Epiphanius were meeting at night. It is clear, however, that we shall imagine the conversation as taking place not long before the death of the Saint. It is the first in a series of conversations on spiritual topics which form the end of the *Vita* and in which AS says farewell to his friend. It is a natural place for an eschatological message.

¹⁴⁰ See Murray, *Life of Andreas* (*supra*, note 3), 17 ff., and G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 179 ff.

¹⁴¹ This was already pointed out by P. Maas, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 109), 318.

¹⁴² Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (*supra*, note 99), 386.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹⁴⁴ Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (*supra*, note 125), 74. On the other hand, there is little anachronistic about the winter storm described in 660 Cf., which has been connected with the severe winter 928 (Da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, 183). It is in fact a reminiscence of *Vita Danielis stylitae*, ed. H. Delehaye, SubsHag, 14 (1923), 51 f.

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